

JPRS-NEA-92-086
10 JULY 1992



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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10 July 1992

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International Affairs

Ambassador Hussain Says U.S. Friendship Costly

92AS1052D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
17 May 92 pp 1, 7

[News Story: "U.S. Friendship Costly—Syeda Abida Hussain"]

[Text] Washington (Radio report)—Syeda Abida Hussain, the Pakistani ambassador to the United States of America, says that friendship with the United States during the cold war proved to be very costly for Pakistan. She was addressing a conference at an American university and said that Pakistan had to buy enmity with the former Soviet Union, and as a result of it, it had to suffer Soviet vetoes in the UN Security Council when resolutions for a referendum in Kashmir were presented. Abida Hussain said that Pakistan wanted peace at any cost, and that it wanted to establish normal relations with its major neighbor, India. India is now telling Pakistan that we must solve the Kashmir issue. She said that there are 2 million people in the Kashmir Valley, and India has sent 500,000 soldiers there. In other words, every fourth person in the valley is a soldier. She said that looting, murder, and rape were rampant in occupied Kashmir, and that the conscience of the world has remained quiet. She said that if the United Nations can pressure Colonel al-Qadhafi in connection with the extradition of the Libyan nationals who were responsible for sabotaging airplanes, then it is necessary that the United Nations express a similar concern for Kashmir, where 6,000 people have been killed. Abida Hussain said that Pakistan has learned from past experience that there is no permanent friend, and everything depends on various interests. Therefore, Pakistan is looking for ways to cooperate with the Central Asian Republics, where they share the element of poverty.

U.S. Said Controlling UN Decisionmaking

92AS1117I Karachi DAWN in English 6 Jun 92 p 13

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Is U.S. Hijacking the UN?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] At the time the world body was known as the United Nations Organisation—"UNO" for short—(instead of just "UN" as now), a celebrated Urdu poet, Syed Mohammad Jafri, in a light skit on global power-politics, made the fascinating point: "U" in "UNO" stands for "USA", and if you take the "U" out, all you are left with is NO, that is, just nothing!

That was a truthful delineation of the solitary superpower role played by the United States in the glow of World War II. But the description ceased to be valid as more and more Third World countries fought their way into the United Nations as sovereign states; and the USSR, China, France and the United Kingdom joined the nuclear club; and the Soviet Union started using the veto as the second superpower. Because of the explosive

balance of terror, neither superpower could aggress against a small country and get away with it; in fact, both bent over backwards to woo the unaligned; and the resulting equilibrium managed to underwrite the integrity and self-respect of all nations, large or small.

We have since gone one full circle and are back to square one. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States is left again as the only superpower; and with its supremacy confirmed by the Gulf war, it has started acting preemptively and imposing its will on the world—either directly or through the United Nations. It derives its clout not only from its overwhelming military strength based, *inter alia*, on its nuclear arsenal, but also its control of the global economy. While Russia, militarily, is still a credible adversary to USA, it cannot survive economically without massive handouts from the United States. The countries that do not receive aid bilaterally from Washington benefit indirectly from U.S.-furnished funds, dispensed by IMF and the World Bank. The American hold is complete; there is nobody around to challenge its hegemony. Undoubtedly, Japan and Germany—followed by the European Community—will soon be challenging USA's financial primacy, but they still lack the military prowess and political will needed to question America's total supremacy.

The resulting arrogance of power has already begun to assert, as shown by the arbitrary manner in which USA has handled the Libyan episode. It digs up a two-year old Pan Am air crash and pins down the responsibility on Libya—since questioned by several international investigators who suspect the involvement of Iran or Syria rather than Libya—and follows up its demand for the surrender of Libyan citizens to USA with imposition of punitive sanctions against the country under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

More significant is the fact that the UN resolution about Libya was allegedly drafted not in the Council chambers of the United Nations but by the U.S. State Department; and transmitted to the UN Secretary-General for adoption by the UN Security Council, without alteration. Still more ominous, the strongarm tactics employed to line up the vote included a threat to the People's Republic of China that in the event of its blocking the draft resolution, Beijing would be deprived of the 'most favoured nation' treatment.

In the same category fall the 'arm-twisting' used by U.S. to mobilise Third World votes in the UN General Assembly to rescind the Assembly's own earlier resolution declaring Israel a racist state. Even the countries that had strongly supported the anti-Israel resolution now accepted the humiliation of changing their vote and "eating the crow", as they say. Even India, which for years had claimed to be a champion of the Arab cause, quietly switched sides. The stick-and-carrot strategy worked magnificently.

There is nothing new about UNICEF and UNDP [UN Development Program] being headed by blue-blooded Americans, but what is unprecedented is the inclusion of two more Americans in the top echelon of UN's power-structure. On a word from the U.S. President, a new post has been created to accommodate Mr. Joseph Verne Reed as Under-Secretary General for "Collection of Funds to Celebrate the UN's 50th Anniversary". The other American has been given a king-pin assignment as Under-Secretary General for Administration, without whose concurrence even the Secretary-General cannot make any appointment.

Washington, however, has had more structural changes made through the Secretary General himself. Most of the departments and directorates relating to Third World's economic development have been scrapped in the name of economy. Distressingly enough, the new Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali a 70-year-old Coptic Christian from Egypt with a Jewish wife—is in no position to pursue a bold, independent line.

His March 19 *faux paix* at the very first Press conference addressed by him has alienated not only the Arabs but also Pakistan and its friends. His description of the UN Security Council resolutions on Palestine and Kashmir as "non-binding"—later corrected to "unenforceable"—has been decried as a sop to Israel, India and USA which negates the global thinking in favour of a larger UN role. His statement on Kashmir and Palestine has been viewed as abdicating the powers already conferred on him. The American press has done his image no good by applauding him for what it calls his services to the Western cause.

Observers have also noted with considerable concern an incriminating similarity between the New World Order visualised by USA and the UN reorganisation plan said to have been formulated by Mr. Butrus-Ghali. From all indications Washington plans to anchor its New World Order on a network of regional surrogates playing the gendarmie on behalf of the supersuperpower to keep the "lesser" countries in line and observers cite in support the fact that USA has been conniving at the nuclear arsenals of Israel and India, lavishing conventional-weapons technology on the two countries and turning a blind eye to their development of missiles and playing deaf and dumb on human rights violations in the territories occupied by them.

Observers see the Secretary General implementing the surrogate strategy with his reported proposal to induct five regional powers as permanent members of the UN Security Council; and the powers named are: India, Japan, Germany, Nigeria (or Egypt) and Brazil.

The introduction of a new privileged class is viewed as conflicting with the global thrust towards democracy and sovereign equality of nations, the key-stone of the UN Charter. This would amount to splitting the UN Security Council into three castes: one, 'traditional' Brahmins, namely the five permanent members of the Council

exercising the right of veto; two, 'convert' Brahmins occupying the newly-created five permanent seats without the power of veto; and three, the 'scheduled castes', being the 10 non-permanent members subjecting themselves to elections every two years. A progressive step, in tune with the new world trend, would have been the abolition of even the five existing veto-wielding, permanent members and their replacement by elected representatives. But if realpolitik stands in the way of such a drastic reform we should not add insult to injury by creating another privileged class of permanent members. It would be extremely undemocratic to deprive the rank and file of UN membership of their inherent right to elect all members of the UN Executive. Undoubtedly the universalisation of the United Nations—it now has 175 member-states—does require expansion of the Security Council, and it should be so expanded, but with popularly elected members—elected periodically as at present—and not permanent, irremovable fixtures, which would be unacceptable to an overwhelming majority of UN members. (Pakistan ought to spearhead a drive against the introduction of a new Brahmanic order in the world body).

Another unhealthy development noted by old UN hands is the imperceptible conversion of the five permanent members of the Security Council into some sort of a mafia enjoying unhindered power to shape the destinies of the world, without any onus of accountability. In what looks like a disturbing development, the Big Five have shifted the venue of their "wheeling-dealing" from the UN building to their missions outside and take turns hosting. Why should they be doing this? Do they seek to escape the vigilant eyes of the world Press corps and make deals in secret?

The root-cause of the threat to UN power balance is the disappearance of the second superpower which ensured a system of check and counter-checks. Even those countries which suffered at the hands of the Soviet Union now miss its contribution as a counter-balancing force. It is commonly heard in the UN corridors that the United Nations has become an extension of the U.S. Department of State. It may be an exaggeration, but the direction is unmistakable and the need to re-introduce a counter-balancing force is undeniable.

Neither Japan nor Germany nor the European Community can provide the requisite balance; their economic interests conflict with the Third World's and tend to drive them politically into the American orbit. The non-Aligned Movement [NAM], which at its meeting in Indonesia, last month was looking for a role to play, can fill the bill. While too weak individually, the NAM members collectively can provide an effective counter-balancing force and block the take-over of UN as a tool of American foreign policy, UN decisions should reflect the universality that the expanding membership of the world body represents; and it should not be permitted to be hijacked by any member or coterie of members, no matter how powerful militarily or influential economically.

JUP Leader Alleges U.S. Wants To Fragment Nation

92AS1054D Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 May 92 pp 1, 11

[News Report by Maulana Nurani: "The U.S. Wants To Break Pakistan Apart by Dividing Sindh; the Present Authorities Have Made the Office of the Prime Minister a Tool for Trade"; 'JUP Leader Talks to the Delegation']

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter): Alama Shah Ahmad Nurani, leader of the Jamaat-e Ulema-e Pakistan [JUP] has said that the present authorities have made the office of the prime minister an instrument of trade. Speaking to a delegation of the JUP Karachi division headed by General Secretary Mohammad Hashem Siddiqi, Maulana Nurani said that the country's wealth was being looted with both hands; that the United States and the Hindus were the worst enemies of the Muslims and Pakistan and that they were conspiring first, to divide Sindh and second, to break up Pakistan. He said that the JUP had always informed the people in time of conspiracies against Sindh. He added that the law-and-order situation in Sindh had reached its lowest point; bomb explosions; abductions of decent civilians; attacks on trains by robbers and increasing terrorism had robbed the inhabitants of their peace of mind and the people had lost confidence in the government, their own representatives and the administration. Maulana Nurani said that just as had happened in the past, the present government had not only failed to carry out any of its promises but had also, in order to preserve its power, established friendly relations with those elements who were responsible for violence and terrorism in the cities and villages.

UN Secretary Said To Favor Climate of War

92AS0984A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 25 Apr 92 p 1

[Article by Sardar Qayyum: "Ghali Is an American Agent and Wants To Start India-Pakistan War; first paragraph is JASARAT introduction]

[Text] The Kashmir issue is in the domain of the United Nations. The secretary general is undermining the sanctity of this world body.

Islamabad, (PPI). The Prime Minister of Azad (liberated) Kashmir, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan has stated that the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr. Butrus-Ghali is either poorly informed about the UN charter or shows favoritism toward India by declaring the Kashmir issue to be a bilateral (internal) dispute between India and Pakistan. In so doing, he undermines the reputation of the United Nations. Talking to news reporters today, Sardar Qayyum said, "The Kashmir issue is not merely a bilateral dispute between India and Pakistan, but rather lies within the domain of the United Nations. The United Nations became involved in this issue in 1948-49 at the request of the Indian Government. At the time it was solely the intervention of the

United Nations that led to a cease-fire. Therefore, how can the UN secretary general make comments based on misplaced favoritism at this time." He further added, "Butrus-Ghali is clearly an American and an Israeli agent and wants to fuel the flames of war between Pakistan and India." The Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir further said that he had also informed Pakistani officials of his feelings about the secretary general's statement.

Regarding the political changes unfolding in Afghanistan, he said, "The formation of the Mujahideen Government is not only a propitious sign for a solution to the Kashmir issue but also heralds the formation of a Muslim block in the region. India should take a lesson from the consequences of the Afghan crisis and not let slip an opportunity for peace; or else all of India may be engulfed by violence."

Editorial Criticizes UN Secretary Stance

92AS0984B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Apr 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Ghali's Empty Talk"]

[Text] The Secretary General of the United Nations Mr. Butrus-Ghali expressed concern about the situation in Kashmir and offered to promote a resolution to this issue. The statement given before his departure from Islamabad said he would willingly provide whatever help he could within the guidelines set by the UN charter. Mr. Butrus-Ghali is the head of this international body, formed to maintain peace and security in the world and provide safety and justice to its victimized nations. If this institution is unable to fulfill these goals, it would be apt to question support for such a "white elephant."

The halfhearted intention expressed by the secretary general is disappointing and quite inadequate. It shows that he is not committed to finding a solution to this dispute nor to achieving independence for the people of occupied Kashmir. The inhumane treatment meted out by the Indian Armed Forces in occupied Kashmir should have been met with a strong statement to India to end this bloody game and hold a referendum according to UN resolutions. If India does not agree to these conditions, appropriate steps ought to be taken against it as was done against Iraq in the Kuwaiti Issue. But perhaps Mr. Butrus-Ghali does not wish to do this or maybe in this case feels restrained and helpless. It is a fact that the United Nations is no longer in a position to act in a free and unbiased fashion. Currently it is America and the allied powers that dominate this world body; without America's corroboration and approval, the organization is reduced to impotency. Because America favors India and chooses to appoint it the policeman of the Indian Ocean [area], America will not pester India about the Kashmir issue. Mr. Butrus-Ghali is aware of and understands this trend in world politics and cannot take any action that would jeopardize his own position vis-a-vis America.

The secretary general should note that this sort of behavior is not suitable to his position; his reputation may be compromised and he may be labeled an Indian sympathizer. All nations, especially the superpowers should be cautioned; if people lose confidence in the United Nations and it thereby proves unable to provide peace and justice to small victimized nations, the balance of power will be disturbed in various areas. Superpowers will be able to invade any country they desire, and the smaller nations will have to resort to all kinds of ruses and subterfuges for their own defense. This could trigger a new phase of international terrorism. It is therefore essential that the United Nations perform its mandated role in Kashmir and all other areas without bias or pressure. The people of Kashmir and Pakistan have waited for 44 years for UN resolutions to be implemented; their patience has all but vanished. There remains no margin for further delay.

Leaders Call For Muslim World To Quit UN

92AS1102A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
3 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Rafaqat Ali: "Muslim World Urged To Quit UN"]

[Text] Islamabad, June 2: Condemning the United States of America and United Nations for imposing sanctions against Libya, speakers at a seminar here on Tuesday called on the Muslim world to quit the United Nations unless they were given representation in the Security Council.

Speakers urged masses of the Muslim countries to depose their rulers who were playing in the hands of anti-Islam forces.

The seminar was held under the auspices of Islamic Solidarity Front and Karwan-e-Inqalab.

Agha Murtaza Pooya, who presided over the seminar, in his hard-hitting speech said that sanctions against Libya by the United Nations were intended to take those Muslim rulers who dared to oppose the policies of America. He said it was unfortunate that Saudi Arabia was collaborating with anti-Islam forces who were endeavouring to destroy the Muslim unity.

Muslim rulers, he said, believed in 'Bismillah' and not in 'Bismillah.' He said Libya was being punished for opposing the Camp David Accord between Israel and Egypt.

A large number of Arab countries, he said, were willing to recognise Israel but Libya was opposed to the idea. America, Mr. Pooya maintained, was working on a plan to create a greater Zionist state.

Condemning the U.N. for its biased attitude, Mr. Pooya said, there was no moral justification for the Muslims to cling to the U.N. which had now turned into an organisation solely for the White.

Pakistan nuclear programme, Agha Murtaza said, was the target of the anti-Islam forces who feared that by obtaining nuclear capability, the Islamic world could pose a serious threat to their hegemony.

Afzal Khan, Deputy Opposition leader, speaking on the occasion, said it was strange that whenever such a situation had arisen, the Pakistani people had sided with the Muslim Ummah while the government of the day had inevitably supported anti-Islam forces. He predicted the imminent fall of the United States. The budget deficit of the U.S.A., he said, was over 400 billion dollars and its debts had soared to staggering 4,000 billion dollars. He strongly condemned sanctions against Libya and Iraq by the United Nations.

S. M. Kureshi, ex-ambassador of Pakistan said, sanctions against Libya were aimed at suppressing al-Qadhdhafi who had all along opposed American policies. He said the U.S. hostility towards Libya date back to 1974 when al-Qadhdhafi played a major role in holding the Islamic summit in Lahore in 1974.

Mr. Kureshi said Z. A. Bhutto, former Prime Minister was hanged for his two sins for holding the Islamic summit and for starting the nuclear programme.

He said the Muslims must have representation in the Security Council as out of five billion world population one billion were Muslims.

Gen. (Retd) Tajammal Hussain, who was thrown into jail by Ziaul Haq for an alleged mutiny attempt, said Pakistan was not an Islamic state, rather it was a secular state. He said all the high talks about Islamisation by rulers were bogus and people would have to rise in rebellion to change the colonial system.

Mian Atta Ullah, former Federal Minister, said sanctions against Libya were the result of American fear that the Islamic world was the only potential threat to its supremacy. He said after Libya's offer to take the Lockerbie suspect case to the international Court of Justice there was no reason to suspect Tripoli's intentions.

Ahmed Raza Qasuri, said America wanted to demilitarise, denuclearise and de-Islamise Pakistan.

Those who spoke on the occasion were Agha Murtaza Pooya, Chief of Hizbe Islami, Afzal Khan, deputy opposition leader, Mian Atta Ullah, ex-MNA, Gen. (Retd) Tajammal Hussain, Ahmed Raza Qasuri, Qazi Abdul Qadeer Khamoosh, Dr. S. M. Qureshi, ex-diplomat, Ruqia Shah Khanum, Shamsul Haq Awan, Izhar Jaffery, Farooq Abbasi, Advocate, Hamid Mufti, Dr. Hamza and Dr. Mehmoood ur Rehman Faisal.

Paper Calls For Forging Close Ties To PRC

BK2506111392 Islamabad *THE NEWS* in English
25 Jun 92 p 7

[Editorial: "The Strongest Link"]

[Text] During his meeting with the visiting delegation of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on Tuesday, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan highlighted the lasting bond of Sino-Pak friendship and described it a "source of peace" in the region. Although couched in clichéd diplomatese, the point the President made is indeed of great relevance to Pakistan's security environment.

Even if the country's foreign policy managers claim otherwise, the whirlwind of changes which has swept across the entire globe in the recent past has left Pakistan's external policy rather directionless. One by one all the spokes which had kept the wheel of Islamabad's foreign policy rolling have been knocked out. If our relations with the United States are entangled in the nuclear mess, the end of the Afghan war has deprived us of the attention, and with it the assistance, of the international community. And this has happened at a time when our ties with New Delhi, never very healthy, have registered a marked deterioration. There is however one silver lining to this all encompassing cloud of gloom: the Beijing link.

The consistency of China's Pakistan policy is an indication that Islamabad does not stand alone, not at least in South Asia. Other than the legacy of the past, what cements Pakistan's relations with China is that both are struggling to defy, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees, the twisted logic of the New World Order. U.S. misgivings about Pakistan's nuclear programme are leading Washington to tighten the screw on Islamabad. Already the United States has warned Islamabad that it has to prove that it is not involved in sponsoring terrorism in the occupied Kashmir and the Indian Punjab; failing this it can be categorised as a "state supporting terrorism", with all that this implies.

The United States is not coming down any less heavily on China. Many in Washington are openly expressing their apprehensions that China, the last bastion of socialism, is going to be the biggest hurdle in America's way to spread democracy (read hegemony) in the world. Also Washington's rhetoric about Beijing's human rights violations has become excessive. So much so that now it is hard to sift propaganda from official policy.

Under these circumstances when Beijing and Islamabad find themselves sailing in the same boat, it makes sense to use the existing mutual goodwill, and compulsions, to foster a stronger relationship—that which will not only see them through the rough weather of the New World Order, but which is also beneficial to both.

Foreign Aid Projects Seen Faulty, Prejudiced

92AS1015G Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
22 May 92 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "The Rationale of Foreign Aid"]

[Text] So much has been said on the economic and political disadvantages of foreign aid for countries like Pakistan, that any rehashing of those thoughts would be fruitless. Yet there is something else than what meets the uncanny eye of our high-ups who so gleefully sign these foreign aid contracts.

W.W. Hunter, in his famous book *OUR INDIAN MUSLIMANS* wrote that "When we came here, the Muslims of the subcontinent were ahead of us in nearly every field. Yet there was a brisk trade with foreign countries, but since the subcontinent produced all its essential needs, there was no compulsion on the part of the local rulers or the tradesmen to rely on imported goods. This situation came to a sorry end when the local industry and the craftsmen were throttled and gagged in most of the subcontinent by iniquitous economic policies and cut-throat competition from foreign goods.

The result was that within 150 years the subcontinent became a gargantuan importer of foreign goods. This is exactly what these industrialised countries of the West are doing with the Third World countries through different stratagems. Foreign aid is one of these. The result is that the economy of most of the Third World countries are now basically import-oriented and not export-oriented. The burden of debt servicing on foreign aid eats up a sizeable chunk of their hard earned incomes.

Most of the foreign aid is being funnelled into Pakistan through some particular aid project. Our main grouse against these foreign aid projects is that the heads of these projects are always foreign experts usually from the donor country. And the small number of high Pakistani officials that they have are mostly their subordinates. It is very strange that a project is tailored for the host country, yet the person responsible for its execution is an outsider who as a rule will never feel for the weal and the woe of the indigenous population.

As a matter of fact, the head ought to be the expert from the host country. There is a plethora of foreign qualified Pakistani experts. If these donor countries fear that their funds might be utilized for other than the legitimate purposes they can supervise all the expenses, but the execution of the project should be in the hands of Pakistani experts. Not only the heads but also all other influential posts in the projects are also reserved for foreign experts, who may be highly qualified in their respective fields, but simply because most of them don't have any first hand knowledge of the socio-economic problems faced by the local populace, their high-sounding solutions for indigenous problems always fall short of reaching even the fringes of the actual problem. Local participation in these foreign aid projects is then just confined to obtain clerical jobs in these prestigious projects.

Most of the foreign experts are here on a short deputation. All he or she would be able to do is to lay the groundwork, something which may or may not be acceptable to his immediate predecessor who in his wake brings another pack of solutions to the variegated and everchanging problems faced by the indigenous population. Small wonder then that the problems keep cropping up; however, the official results are very bombastic on paper.

As to the personal amenities that these foreign aid missions provide to their foreign employees, the less said the better. While in their home countries, they could not even dream of such palatial houses in which they are usually put up in Pakistan. Even a foreigner holding only a clerical job drives a swanky car and throws lavish parties off and on. At least 30 per cent of their allocated budget is usually squandered away on renting and furnishing their big houses and other unnecessary paraphernalia for their offices and employees.

Another glaring fact is that more often than not their better halves or worst halves are also holding important jobs in the same project. This is nowhere more conspicuous than in the USAID projects in Pakistan. We have seen certain projects where wife or husband is the head of a certain project, and the other half is the deputy chief project. What a strange coincidence.

We are not complaining here about the terms and conditions on which the foreign countries grant loans to us. It's their money and we are in need of it. So they have every right to dictate terms to us. What, however, our legitimate concern is that the aid which is sent to Pakistan and for which Pakistan pays an economic and political price, should be spent on the right heads and not be merely frittered away in paying rich salaries and furnishing their offices with every kind of expensive electronic gadgetry, which as a rule has to be imported from the donor country.

However, the big question is about the sustainability and the outcome of these projects. Even where any project succeeds in only reaching the fringes of any problem, its impact is always short lived. There is a great hiatus between the short-term and long-term objectives of these projects. In fact, it has never been the policies of these foreign aid projects to take up something on a long-term basis. They come and go.

After all what is the rationale of conducting a seminar for only two days in a remote area on 'computer technology' where the literacy rate is only 1 per cent? Recently certain computer training courses were held by a foreign aid mission for the top management of our services. Imagine the duration of the course was only 7 days. One wonders what benefit would this type of short courses have on the sense and the sensibility of our top managers in our administration. And the expenses on such seminars runs inot lacs of rupees i.e. hiring five star hotels, transporting experts by air, etc, etc. Why not have something more enduring? These foreign agencies are

forcing down our throats ready-made solutions to the everchanging problems of our country, which not only vary from place to place, but in certain cases their complexion changes overnight in the same place. All these foreign aids are presumptuous in their approach.

The examples of Taiwan and Korea are before us. They also took heavy loans from developed countries, with a minimum of foreign expertise. The implementation of their projects was entirely in their own hands. The results were stupendous. Korea is now an aid donor country. Taiwan has developed its basic infrastructure to such an extent that if today all foreign aid is stanchied, it will not suffer to any great degree because it has spent on foreign aid but not on importing expensive foreign goods. Let us follow the examples of these countries.

Regional Affairs

JI Leader Criticizes Government Policy on Afghanistan

92AS1111A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
4 Jun 92 p 11

[Article by deputy leader of Jamaat-i Islami (JI) Chaudhary Rahmat Illahi; "Establishment of an Islamic Government in Afghanistan and Pakistan"]

[Text] Afghanistan is not only a brother Islamic country and a neighbor, but it is also of basic importance to Pakistan's security. India, our eternal enemy, has always tried to weaken our rear guard by spreading a web of conspiracy in Afghanistan. In the changing international situation, [Afghanistan] has become even more important to us because it is the bridge to our comprehensive relations with the Central Asian states. Thus, our own security and important national interests depend on the existence of peace and order in Afghanistan and the establishment of an Islamic government there friendly to Pakistan.

After the defeat of communism and the end of the Russian empire, the United States has been left as the sole superpower and hence considers it its right to interfere in the affairs of every country in the world, to threaten the rulers and twist their arms. The interests of the United States in this region are opposed to our interests. The United States does not want a pure Islamic government in Afghanistan; it considers cooperation among Islamic countries in this region and their union in a single block a danger to itself. The United States does not want a pure Islamic government in any country but it is particularly interested in keeping Afghanistan, the bridge country, under its own influence and that is why it has been trying to prevent the establishment of an Islamic government by the mojahedin and favors a coalition of monarchists, nationalists, and flexible Muslims that would leave the door open to U.S. intrigues and interference.

Keeping in view the clash between our interests and those of the United States in Afghanistan, we shall review briefly the last stage of the Afghan Jihad.

For the last six months, Benon Sevan, the representative of the secretary general of the United Nations, has been busy traveling to Islamabad, Kabul, and Tehran. The Gulf war and the UN action against Libya have made it plain that the United Nations is under the complete control of the U.S. Government. Mr. Butrus-Ghali, the secretary general of the United Nations, is a Coptic Christian from Egypt and his wife is Jewish. His representative, Benon Sevan, is not only Jewish but also was an adviser to Israel's [former] prime minister Begin; hence, Sevan was interested more in preserving the interests of the United States and Israel rather than those of the mujahedin and Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan should not have accepted such a representative in a matter that affects its vital and sensitive interests but perhaps the realization of this fact was beyond the understanding of our authorities. At any rate, Mr. Sevan's efforts have been directed towards finding an avenue of cooperation between Dr. Najib and the mujahedin or failing that, some sort of cooperation with Zaher Shah. However, since all the mujahedin were opposed to any negotiations with Najibullah, and most of the mujahedin were opposed to Zaher Shah as well, the United Nations sought, as an alternative, the establishment of a broad-based government consisting of Najibullah's Watan Party, Zaher Shah's courtiers and moderate and flexible mujahedin. The mujahedin, on the other hand, were willing at the most to accept that for an interim period, authority should be placed in the hands of unbiased individuals of good reputation who had no political ambitions of their own and who, during a specified period of time, would hold elections in the country and hand over power to a representative government. Even in this formula, Benon Sevan and the Government of Pakistan were insisting that out of 35 individuals, seven or eight be chosen from Zaher Shah's men, which some mujahedin organizations and in particular, Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami, were not prepared to accept as being unbiased.

Meanwhile, the worsening economic situation in Russia caused the Russian government to end its aid to the Kabul government on 1 January 1992. Najib's grip on power was beginning to weaken and signs of rebellion were appearing in his army. When Najib realized that it was not only impossible for him to stay in power but an uprising could cost him his life, he tried unsuccessfully to flee Kabul. At this juncture, General Dostum and his Glimjim militia occupied Mazar Sharif and came to an agreement with Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, allowing him to occupy the airfields of Charikar and Begram. Mas'ud saw this as an opportunity to seize power and gained the support of not only Gen. Dostum but also Najib's Tajik and Uzbek generals, Gen. Azimi, Gen. Momen, Gen. Asef Delawar and Gen. Baba Khan and tried to strengthen his hold on Kabul. Reacting to Mas'ud's actions, Engineer Hekmatyar dug in around Kabul and issued an ultimatum on 20 April 1992, to the forces occupying Kabul.

In view of this rapidly changing situation, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, leader of the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI], advised

Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister of Pakistan, to use Pakistan's influence to bring about some sort of compromise between the two major mujahedin parties, namely, Hezb-e-Islami (Eng. Hekmatyar) and Jamaat-i-Islami (Professor Borhanuddin Rabbani and Mas'ud), give suitable shares to the other parties and thus solve the problem. But the prime minister ignored the advice and instead called a meeting of all the mujahedin parties and had them agree on a formula under which the 10 mujahedin parties would send five members each to a 50-member council that would assume power for two months under the leadership of Sayyidullah Mojaddedi. At the end of two months, an interim government would be formed in which Borhanuddin Rabbani would be president, Eng. Hekmatyar or his representative would be the prime minister, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud the minister of defense and the other ministers would be selected from the various parties. After four months, the interim government would form a joint council. By thus sending two governments at the same time to Afghanistan, the door was left open for further struggles and intrigues. Hezb-e-Islami did not sign the formula; they were in favor of forming an interim government with Rabbani as the president and Hezb-e-Islami in charge of the premiership, but they were opposed to entrusting power for two months to Mojaddedi and the 50-member council because such an arrangement would inevitably leave the door open to domestic and foreign intrigues. Hezb-e-Islami took the position that in view of the fact that all parties had agreed upon the interim government posts, there should not be a two-month delay in forming the government and transferring power to it. Their second objection was that the formula did not guarantee elections. Hezb-e-Islami's two objections were justified but the prime minister gave in to foreign pressure and, ignoring the justified position of Hezb-e-Islami, a major mujahedin party, announced [the acceptance] of the formula and further said that the train was on its way and would not wait for anyone. As stated in the formula, Mojaddedi assumed office on 28 April and the next day, Nawaz Sharif, accompanied by the chief of the armed forces, went to Kabul and threw his full support on the side of the formula.

To this day, neither the Pakistani government nor any of its supporters have been able to offer a decent explanation of the purpose and necessity of the two months' inexplicable arrangement when in fact all parties had agreed on an interim government. The result has been that Mojaddedi, who has no power base himself, has become the hostage of communist generals and the Glimjim militia. The militia continues to plunder, and various mujahedin leaders and commanders, disgusted with the situation and the high-handed actions of the Dostum militia, have returned to Peshawar. Four of Mojaddedi's guards were killed by the militia and the remaining guards escaped to Peshawar. Since Mojaddedi relies exclusively on the militia and communist generals, he has appointed communist Gen. Asef Delawar the commander in chief of the forces. As for the formula, Mojaddedi announced that he would remain

president for two years and has already formed his 16-member cabinet in which he has included not only his two main but right or left supporters of Zahir Shah. Thus the formula supported by the United States and British Secret of creating a broad-based government (communists plus supporters of Zahir Shah plus flexible moudharis) has been put into effect. It is another matter if the timely intervention and resolve of the moudharis should derail this scheme; our government for its part has provided every possible opportunity for the success of the scheme.

The events of the last three weeks have made it quite clear that the formula was not the result of any careful thought but foreign pressure alone and, as a result, the situation in Afghanistan has worsened instead of improving. The struggle which continues in Afghanistan and as result there has been some bloodshed as well, is the result of including former communist generals in power on U.S. orders and ignoring the stand of Herib-Eslami's Hekmatyar. Eng. Hekmatyar's wisdom and diplomacy deflected international intrigues and not only established his stature in the Afghan jihad but also saved the other moudharis from the pits in which they had fallen victim. Now most of the moudharis are beginning to agree with him that the Dostum militia should be expelled from Kabul and joint groups of moudharis should be put in charge of guarding law and order in Kabul.

In answer to Hekmatyar's demand that no agreement is possible without the removal of the Dostum militia, it is being said that at one time Hekmatyar himself had conspired with Gen. Taimur to overthrow Najib but had not succeeded or that during the final stages of the war several militias had surrendered to Herib-Eslami. It is important to note here that there is a great difference between obtaining a general's help in the attempt to oust Najib, on the one hand, and on the other hand, after Najib's removal, concluding a pact with his generals and sharing power with them. It is their injustice to ignore this difference. It is understandable if some sort of agreement is reached to grant amnesty to these individuals, but to place them in seats of power and hand over to them the command of the military forces is tantamount to treason against the objectives of the jihad.

According to recent reports, the arbitration intervention led by the famous commander Jalaluddin Haqqani announced its decision but that the Dostum militia ignored it and shelved Hekmatyar's positions, which has created the danger of the fighting resuming. The Dostum militia, which draws its real power from Marar Shari, will create more devastation and perhaps, with the encouragement of certain foreign powers, try to separate northern Afghanistan on the basis of language. It is to be hoped, however, that the joint action of the moudharis will bring the situation under control.

In conclusion, we would like to state it clear that Pakistan's Islamic does not support any single moudharis party nor does it wish to let any single party establish a government in Kabul. Our position is that instead of a broad-based Afghan government (communists plus moudharis plus flexible moudharis), a party (Islamic government or the moudharis) should be established in which every party should be given a share based on its sacrifices and its stature in the jihad. No one should be mistakenly ignored because of foreign pressure. Such a government alone would prove a true friend to Pakistan and would achieve the aims of the Afghan jihad. Islamic (Islam) is opposed to the division of Afghanistan, which is a conspiracy by foreign powers to harm the interests of the Afghan nation, the Muslim nation, and Pakistan. It is necessary to defeat this conspiracy. Hence, we consider the May 1991 Dostum alliance the members of which belong to the same linguistic class to be a situation in the safety of Afghanistan because such an alliance creates a variety of actions and reactions that will inevitably become a means of promoting the plots of enemies.

Obviously, any government formed at this stage will be an interim one; only a government that enjoys the confidence of the Afghan people will become a permanent one. It would be the task of the interim government to prepare for elections within a suitable period of time and then hand over power peacefully to a government elected through unbiased and free elections. Unless such a process is guaranteed, there will be no peace or order in Afghanistan.

According to recent reports, an agreement has been concluded between Hekmatyar and Marad to refrain from any further fighting. Armed bands from the north would return to their territory; the two-month period of Moudharis's presidency would not be extended and within a suitable period, presidential and parliamentary elections would be held in the country. If the terms of this agreement are carried out properly, the situation in Afghanistan will gradually improve. However, it seems that the operators of the Pakistan Government wish to keep the political waters of Afghanistan muddy for some time longer. The manner in which Moudharis expressed his desire to extend his term of office as president, then proceeded to form his cabinet and promoted Gen. Dostum to full generalship has raised doubts in the minds of other moudharis leaders, especially Rabbani who is to assume office as president at the end of June. There are signs that a struggle for power has started. Moudharis demands that the Government of Pakistan, instead of extending hospitality to Moudharis as chief of state and indirectly supporting the impression of supporting him, should advise Moudharis to stay in Kabul, try to improve the situation and ensure the success of the Peshawar pact. We do not understand why the government of Pakistan is in such a hurry.

Editorial Urges Caution in Dealing With Afghanistan

(Continued from page 10 of Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 1)

(Editorial: "Pakistan: Behind The Scenery")

[Text] The international community is faced with the Afghan-
istan problem. The Muslim world must give priority to
national unity and interests rather than racial, linguistic or
regional ones. At the same time Pakistan needs to be
cautious about its role in the country. The fact that a
war is going on in Afghanistan is a tragedy for the region. The
war has also become internationalized by Pakistan to suit the
interests of its own government in Afghanistan.
The war has been prolonged on the basis of human and ethnic
beings. It should be a matter of great regret and a source of common satisfaction
for the people and the Government of Pakistan that they
were able to provide full support to their Afghan brothers
during this trying period. It was this support that turned a
superpower of the status of the Soviet Union in withdrawal
in Afghanistan.

Now that the movement of the communist administration
has been terminated and formation of a regular Afghan
government is in sight, it would be very desirable for
anti-imperialist powers to consider the interests of the revolution
and its future. Afghanistan is a country in which the
communist has the reputation of its future identity is
enriched. In order to achieve this goal, the primary
objective would be to give the various revolutionary factions
according to language, race, and region. The exaggerated
presentation of differences between the factions of Com-
munist Ahmad Shah Massoud, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and
others is part of their efforts. At the same time these
powers would also try to bring in some from Pakistan
leadership that would lead to a complete relationship of
cooperation and not the state of suspicion that character-
izes Pakistan's 15 years of isolation. This would have a dual
result. First, it would create an atmosphere of continuing
conflict and disorder, involving the revolution in a spiraling
power struggle that impedes the formation of an Islamic
state in Afghanistan and renders the country in a state of
perpetual civil strife as in Lebanon. Second, misunder-
standings would be created between Pakistan and Afghanistan so
that these countries would be unable to cooperate in the
future for the greater Islamic cause. Statements issued thus
far indicate that Pakistan is aware of the possible dangers of
the situation, but seems to be so concerned that a great deal
still remains to be done. As for the matter of political action
for Afghanistan, Pakistan's stand has been stated unequivocally.
While it does not favor granting action, it also must
exercise extreme caution in making a choice of which of the
various Afghan revolutionary organizations to support. Our
aimed effort should be directed at aiding these different
groups rather than supporting one or another of them. If
God forbid, this is not an option, we should support the
objective of the dominant majority of the organizations.
Thus, it is necessary to make the support not only of
influential Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran,

but also of the Islamic Conference. If, indeed, the will-
ingness derived from this would not only be in favor of
Pakistan and Afghanistan but would also benefit the entire
Muslim community in the region.

Effects of Mujahidin Victory Seen Uncertain

(Continued from page 10 of Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 1)

(Article by M. P. Bhattacharya, "Afghan Intelligentsia" held
back words and question marks as published)

[Text] The Afghan War is over now. I don't recall who won
it. — *Breaks*

The lines are already blurred in Afghanistan. The war
was officially over last April 27—the 10th anniversary of
the communist coup d'état—when Shafiqullah Maw-
ludat moved to Kabul from Peshawar. For less than a
month later, it is difficult to recall who won it.

It is easier to recall how the war began. A Soviet-inspired
communist coup occurred on 27th April, 1978. Moscow
sponsored it as an "Islamic revolution."
Left-wingers from Lahore to Los Angeles derisively
called Moscow as was their habit. They said that who had
by now arrived on the scene had nothing from L. A.
Bhattacharya a small band of military Pakistan and
Afghan dissidents. The so-called "Islamic Revolution"
opened up a cause much bigger than that of toppling
Daud for these Pakistan-supported dissidents, whose
ranks began to swell as the Great Migration of refugees
began, thanks to the ham-handedness of the communists
then in power in Kabul.

Since World War II, Moscow had made the Soviet
revolution an international duty. This meant the Moscow per-
ceived "an international duty" to intervene in the
domestic affairs of any country that it felt it necessary to
prop up a Moscow-certified regime. The standard
procedure was for the Soviet to be invited by the commu-
nist regime being supported by the forces of "imperialism" and
capital conspiracy. On such persuasion, Soviet tanks went
forward to Berlin (1948), Budapest (1956) and Prague
(1968) and finally to Kabul on 27th December, 1978 to quell
popular discontent and show the red flag.

Afghanistan, for at least 100 years had served as a buffer
state between the West and Russia. The 1978 Soviet
invasion of Afghanistan, therefore, ended a time-
honoured geopolitical reality. The West had to react. And
react it did. The handful of anti-Daud dissidents returned
to Kabul now acquired powerful sponsors in the Ameri-
can CIA and the Pakistan ISI (as published). A combi-
nation of Pakistani covert support, U.S. army and
Afghan guerrilla prowess forced the Soviets to finally
withdraw by 1980 following the Geneva accords. The
world's mightiest army was humbled. We know little
what role the Afghan war played in the eventual unrav-
elling of the Soviet empire. But a role it did play. We
have to await the verdicts of history.

The Afghan war ended in a manner that belied all
expectations. The Mujahideen believed that the war
would be ended "within weeks of the Soviet with-
drawal." They were totally mistaken. Three years after
the ISI-sponsored battle of Jalalabad, Najibullah, the

Soviet ally and nominee was strongly in the saddle. In the end, Najibullah, the last Pakhtun ruler of Kabul fell not by force of Mujahideen arms but a 'northern' alliance between the Uzbek General Rasheed Dostum, the Tajik hero of the Afghan war, Ahmad Shah Masood, and the Tajik Governor of Kabul, General Azimi. Almost overnight the character, pith and substance of the Afghan civil war changed.

The Pakhtun rulership of Kabul since Durani times i.e. the entire modern span of Afghan history—expecting the brief aberration of Bacha Saqa in the 1920s—is now ended by the 'Northern Alliance.' Suddenly, our own indomitable 'secular' Pakhtuns, the Wali Khans, find common cause with the previously hated 'Islamic ideologue' Hekmatyar, not only the paceman of the ISI but the Afghan front man of the Pakistani *lamaat-i-Islami*.

Today's reality in Afghanistan is that three regional centres of power have emerged. Herat/Ghazni—the Shia West which takes orders from Tehran and looks to it for inspiration and support against Sunni domination; Jalalabad, the last resting place of Bacha Khan which will emerge as a centre of Pakhtun nationalism, and, Kabul, now for the first time under the rule of the 'Northerners' as *'primus inter pares'*. What obtains, therefore, is a de facto confederal structure with ties that bind and knots that open in the ever-shifting sands of ethnic antagonisms and compromises.

What this means for Pakistan we shall come to a moment later; let us briefly dwell on the external situation of Afghanistan. Coincidental to the loss of Pakhtun hegemony of Kabul and roughly corresponding to the same time span, another singular development has occurred. Afghanistan has lost its historic role as a Great Power buffer state. Afghanistan was the locale for 'The Great Game' between Russia and the West. Rival powers competed for influence: favours were bestowed, arms and aid supplied, roads built but always within the framework of Afghan buffer status.

But now the curtain has been drawn—at least for the time being—on the Great Game. Russia's border with Afghanistan has been rolled back thousands of miles. The Russians are too busy 're-entering Europe' at the moment to worry about Afghanistan. A different preoccupation consumes the West. Rich, comfortable and smug, the West, in recession, has decided to sit back and let the Afghanists of this world, stew for a while, in their own juice.

Deprived of Great Game attention, Afghanistan must now find anchorage within the regional constellation. Given its geographic disposition and ethnic diversity which impinges on all its neighbours it is ideally placed to play the same buffer role in a regional context. This, however, presupposes Afghan unity.

We can only hope and pray that Afghan unity will remain. But is this being realistic? The fires of ethnic identity have lit the regional landscape in East Punjab, Kashmir and Assam; it is no longer inconceivable that

these entities some day drop out of the Indian Union. What impact, if any, would this have on the Pakhtuns and in domino sequence the Afghan Shias, Tajiks, Uzbeks and so on?

The fall of Kashmir in the Indian context will be comparable to the fall of the Baltic states out of the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Baltic and Kashmir situations have elements in common. Incorporation of either state within the Soviet and Indian unions respectively, was never quite legitimate in the eyes of world opinion. India, like the late Soviet Union, is a multilingual, multiethnic and multiracial union propped by the forces of a secular ideology. Soviet Marxism-Leninism in Russia over a period of seven decades was supposed to have resolved the age-old problems of nation-states arising from ethnicity, language and regional diversity. Indian secularists too, would claim no less. But we know better now in the dying days of our very turbulent century that the liberal and secular idealism of our youth—of which Marxism Leninism was but a perverted versions—has failed us.

As images go, today's revolutionary is not the man on the barricades fighting the reaction of this world with freedom banners and a book of verse, but one with the Kalashnikov and the Holy Writ.

Pakistan's "victory" in Afghanistan, even if the Indian Union does not unravel in the near future, has consequences for us. The Durand Line already invisible in the trans-Pakhtun areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, may come under unsustainable pressure, particularly after the ouster of Pakhtun rulership in Kabul. In Pakhtun perception, the loss of Kabul is the great betrayal of the Afghan war. Even before the dust has settled they perceive themselves to be the long-term losers of the Afghan War.

In the tripartite internal Afghan balance of power the Hazaras and the Shia West are likely to find accommodation with the Tajik and Uzbek 'Northerners' presently ruling Kabul. A North-South, Pakhtun-non Pakhtun division of Afghanistan along the Kabul gorge cannot be ruled out. As a practical reality it exists today. In such event, Pakhtun nationalism will look south to Balochistan and the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. For Pakistan, the revival of the dormant Pakhtun nationalistic problem of the past will be an unwelcome development.

Cynics will claim that they "foresaw" such a development of Pakhtunistan from the time Zia decided to take on the Soviets in Afghanistan. Our Islamists, (nowadays sounding like the leftists of yore) will claim another American conspiracy. The truth of course, is more complex ... and colourful. No one can pass ordinances governing the future.

The Afghan war is now over. It is difficult to say who won it.

Daily on Pros, Cons of Arms Race in South Asia

BK0706110492 Karachi DAWN in English
6 Jun 92 p 13

[Editorial: "'Agni' and South Asia's Burden of Despair"]

[Text] South Asia is paying a heavy price for India's great power ambitions. The race to acquire a nuclear capability in this part of the world was touched off by the Indian decision to explode a nuclear device in 1974, about which India keeps insisting till today that it was a peaceful explosion—a stance which arouses more curiosity than conviction. Faced with that new reality, Pakistan was left with no choice but to develop a nuclear capability of its own. Since then all Pakistani suggestions to curb this mad race or put the nuclear programmes of both countries under some form of discipline have foundered on the Indian insistence that this matter transcends the bilateral relationship between the two countries. This position is also a manifestation of India's great power ambitions, its desire to be counted as one of the major players in the global league. But as if this was not enough, India has now successfully launched a medium-range missile, the Agni, which, with a range of 2,500 kilometres, can strike targets anywhere in this country. As with its nuclear explosion in 1974, India is insisting about the Agni too that it is not "weapon-oriented", a position which is unlikely to fool too many people. Given the tension-ridden state of Indo-Pak relations, Pakistan now comes under the compulsion to match the Indian capability. Thus, the arms race in South Asia which never needed any encouragement in the first place has received another major fillip. Chauvinists will rejoice. Those interested in seeing South Asia transformed into a region of peace and good neighbourliness will have another reason to despair.

Compared to what India and Pakistan should be doing today (as opposed to what they are actually doing) nothing could be more retrogressive than this latest monument to India's bloated military ambitions. Where both sides should be engaged seriously in the effort to reduce the size of their armed forces (so that the funds thus saved could be released for development purposes), the test-flight of the Agni raises the armed threshold in the subcontinent. The cold war may be over elsewhere but not in South Asia, which is still cocooned in the conflicts of the past. Our Foreign Office is scarcely infallible and it is not right on every occasion, but it is hard to fault its stand on this issue. When it says that the development of the Agni missile "is not conducive to improving the climate of peace and security in the region", it is, if anything, understating the case.

The real problems that India and Pakistan face are different. A large number of our people live in conditions of abject poverty. Illiteracy, hunger, disease and squalor define the kind of lives which they lead. The primary responsibility that governments in this region face is to liberate their people from these conditions. This cannot happen if a major portion of the resources of South Asia

are consumed in an arms race whose meaninglessness becomes more transparent when it is considered that it has not even bought security for the countries engaged in it. South Asia is not a more secure place to live in today than it was, say, ten or fifteen years ago. Will this process be reversed? Of that there are precious few signs at present. But the effort must still be made since to do nothing and to watch our countries go their self-destructive ways is a recipe for despair.

Internal Affairs

Beg, FRIENDS Said To Favor Military Intervention

92AS0991G Karachi DAWN in English 9 May 92 p 11

[Article by Mazdak: "The Assorted Thoughts of General Beg"]

[Text] There are times when one seriously questions the efficiency of our army's promotion system. For instance, when General (retd) Mirza Aslam Beg went up and down the country preaching "strategic defiance" at the height of the Gulf War, it may have won him points among those with an IQ below a hundred (and there is no shortage of these fans of General Beg), but it did lead some of us to ask if he was for real.

It may have been all right for some off-the-wall zealot to sound off in this fashion—indeed, it was de rigeur in some circles—but for the Chief of Army Staff to adopt such shrill, meaningless rhetoric and palm it off to the gullible in the garb of military doctrine made a number of people wonder if hot air had replaced ability as a criterion for promotion.

Since his retirement last year, General Beg has not chosen to leave the spotlight for a well-deserved obscurity. Instead, he has continued to unburden himself of his woolly thoughts on a variety of subjects. The vehicle for his ideas is FRIENDS [expansion not given], a mysteriously-funded organisation that purports to conduct research into national issues. While the results of this research have not appeared before us, FRIENDS has been very active in organising seminars and symposia about a host of topics.

The other day, this august body met to discuss the army's role in our polity. According to Press reports, General Beg strongly advocated a "constitutional role" for the army, arguing that without such an arrangement, military rulers tend to hang on to power as they fear being hanged for treason if they were to abdicate. This is a bit like arguing that an intruder should be given legal rights to a house he has broken into, because he will not leave otherwise as he would fear being arrested for breaking-and-entering.

In support of his thesis, Beg cites the examples of Ayub Khan and Ziaul Haq who, according to him, would have handed over power much earlier than they did had there

been a constitutional provision for their actions. General Beg may have conveniently forgotten relatively recent events, but the fact is that Ayub Khan had introduced a new constitution in 1962 which had no death penalty for illegally seizing power, and yet he hung on until he was kicked out by a popular movement in 1969. That he was replaced by another usurper in no way validates Beg's flimsy argument.

And we are all too familiar with Zia's manoeuvrings to believe for a moment that he would ever have relinquished power had not divine intervention taken him from our midst. Despite getting the Eighth Amendment rubber-stamped by the partyless (and gutless) assembly in 1985, thus giving constitutional cover to all his junta's many illegal acts, he clung to power until the moment the C-130 hit the ground in August, 1988. So for General Beg to even dare suggest to us that these two dictators would have voluntarily handed over power to civilian authority had the rules of the game been different is asking us to accept a little too much: these two military rulers changed the rules to suit themselves.

We have come to know about uniformed ambition the hard way over the years, and it will take more than General Beg's glib revision of history to convince us that a "constitutional role" for the army will remove Bonapartist tendencies from the minds of ambitious men.

General Beg then proceeded—as he does at great length and at every opportunity—to tell his audience what was wrong with the country. According to him, the first faltering step Pakistan took was ill-fated because it brought the Muslim League to power, and it was "a party of feudal lords." Now there may have been a great deal wrong with the League, but even General Beg cannot wish away the fact that it was led by Mr Jinnah who was a middle-class (if aristocratic) lawyer and had a mindset far removed from the feudal ethos.

General Beg then lashed out at civilian leadership for having used the army against the people in East Pakistan in 1971, and in Balochistan in 1974. Perhaps the ex-COAS [Chief of Army Staff] is suffering from amnesia because otherwise he might have remembered that in 1971, General Yahya Khan was in power, and it was he who ordered the army action in East Pakistan, thus precipitating first a civil war, and then a war with India. In 1974, Bhutto, unwisely acting on GHQ's [General Headquarters] advice, sent the troops into Balochistan.

Finally, he urged politicians to work out a formula aimed at striking a balance between the powers of the President and the Prime Minister. Quite apart from the fact that these are areas General Beg is not qualified to comment on, the fact is that his ex-boss, Ziaul Haq, has tinkered enough with the Constitution to ensure the primacy of

the President to a degree unheard of in a parliamentary system. Indeed, many of the present strains and distortions in our policy can be traced directly to Zia's poisonous legacy, the Eighth Amendment.

What General Beg forgot to mention—or the Press failed to report—was the army's part in creating the mess we are in today. True, our politicians are not the models of rectitude and diligence we all wish they were. But given the frequency and length of military interventions in politics, it is difficult to avoid apportioning a fair portion of the blame to our political generals. The truth of the matter is that for all intents and purposes, the army is already widely perceived as a major political force in Pakistan, and does not need a "constitutional role" in our political system.

Perhaps the saddest part of the recent FRIENDS seminar was not so much the views expressed by General Beg—after all, it is perhaps unfair to expect him to be lucid about political science and history; but the keynote address by Dr Manzooruddin Ahmad was shocking in its naked advocacy of the military role in politics. This academic, who is the ex-vice chancellor of Karachi University, no less, proposed a permanent sort of political wing under GHQ to take over whenever "paramilitary forces fail to handle the situation."

Clearly, he and General Beg are destined to be FRIENDS forever.

Minister Condemns Insulting of National Flag in Quetta

BK1606160892 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Interior Minister Chaudhry Shujat Hussain has said that those involved in acts of violence and insulting the national flag at Quetta Airport will be dealt with sternly according to law. In a statement issued in Islamabad this evening, he condemned the incident of lowering the national flag at the airport building and described it as most regrettable. The interior minister added that this act is not befitting of any patriotic Pakistani. He said the Balochistan government has taken strong notice of the incident and the culprits will be given harsh punishment. This rowdy scene was created those who had gathered at Quetta International Airport to welcome the Baloch leader, Nawab Khairbaksh Maree. The Baloch leader was to arrive there by a special flight there from Kabul.

The prominent tribal leader, Nawab Khairbaksh Maree, arrived in Quetta today from Kabul by a special flight after a 13-year self-exile in Afghanistan. Balochistan Chief Minister Mir Taj Mohammad Khan Jamali and others welcomed him at the airport.

Prime Minister Said Hurt by JI Move Into Opposition Camp

92AS1052E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 May 92 p 5

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "The Prime Minister Will Not Benefit From Jamaat-i-Islami Animosity"]

[Text] The people have been waiting for the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] to leave the Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI). Qazi Hussein Ahmed has already presented a proposal to this effect, saying that it would be a good idea to separate if we cannot walk together in harmony. Had they agreed with him at that time, then a new chapter of political confrontation could now have been avoided. But it is not impossible even now to avoid this confrontation. Our present national politics are bad enough and our nation is going through bad times. It is important to reduce the distance among political parties. We must make arrangements to eliminate misunderstandings that have existed for a long time. Against this background, it benefits no one to start new fires of political friction. Mr. Nawaz Sharif says that he is thankful to Qazi Hussein Ahmed because he had cooperated with him at every phase. He expressed his concern that they were forced to part their ways. However, they will need each other again. Had he made his statement this way, then this would have created some good will within the JI, and people would have complained about Qazi Hussein Ahmed. They would have told him that while he was issuing strong statements, Nawaz Sharif was such a nice person and did not use even one harsh word. Unfortunately, the prime minister has lost this opportunity to win the hearts of those in the JI. The opinion he has expressed about Qazi Hussein Ahmed has forced everyone to say that this is not an appropriate path to take. Qazi Sahib is, after all, a revolutionary leader, and he does not follow protocol. The prime minister's situation is very different. He runs the government and makes decisions on very important national affairs. He does not do all this work alone and it is a sad thing that he is alone now. Nawaz Sharif did not have any influence in Sindh, even in the past, and even during Jam-i Sadiq's time, this state has been out of his grip. Now, Pir Pagara has made his Muslim League functional, and Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League in Sindh has totally disappeared. Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussein Shah and Maruvat Sahib also show their pride in being associated with Pir Pagara, just as Jam-i Sadiq did. Nawaz Sharif could not even establish a friendship with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. Mr. Ihtaf Hussein is issuing statements against Nawaz Sharif via telephone from London. Pir Pagara has received support from old Muslim League members who are considered the real Muslim Leaguers in terms of making the Muslim League functional in Punjab. In Punjab, Injuman Sipah Suhaba has entered the phase of agitation after crossing various phases. If and when Nawaz Sharif arrives at the general election phase, the Injuman Sipah Suhaba will prove very destructive to him. The JI has almost become ineffective now, and it is like a carcass that only corrupts the atmosphere. If Nawaz Sharif makes arrangements to bury it, he would only be doing his duty, and he would be

able to pay attention to other tasks later. Whatever he does, it would help him to reduce the confrontation with the JI. The confrontation will not help anyone. It has been heard that the prime minister has been advised to activate the notorious Muslim Students Federation to make it act against the Islami Jamiat-i Tulba in Punjab's educational institutions. The prime minister has been advised about the murderous and criminal elements that were members of the Muslim Students Federation. If the prime minister does this, he will make a large number of young people angry at him. The government news media, especially television, is now running a campaign against the JI, and it is aggravating the people. Such an action would prove poisonous for Nawaz Sharif's government. At present, he is not considered a member of the Muslim League, a Muslim, or a majority leader. The way he is struggling and is surrounded makes us feel sorry for him. However, he cannot get anyone's sympathy by being involved in various fights. Now that he has expressed his desire to cooperate with Benazir, it is not necessary that he continue badmouthing his former associates. The prime minister has problems connected with foreign and domestic policy. He cannot ignore orders given by the United States of America, nor can he give up the economic system of charging interest. He cannot form a revolutionary foreign policy, and the other people should be aware of his helplessness in implementing the economic policy. They should not make demands of him that are impossible for him to fulfill. If he cannot implement revolutionary policies, then he should communicate clearly his helplessness; then he will be excused because of his problems and his weakness. People with revolutionary ideas will look for different ways on their own. They should not challenge him purposely; this would be a very dangerous action. The prime minister started fiery statements against Qazi Hussein Ahmed because of Hekmatyar. Until a few months ago, the government itself was supporting Hekmatyar. Now his importance has diminished in every influential group in our country. The people say that Mr. Nawaz Sharif was in too much of a hurry, and that he undermined Hekmatyar's prowess. They say it was a mistake. They consider Hekmatyar their own and a neighbor. If we cannot be a friend to him, then we should at least not become his enemy. This opinion was expressed not only by General Hamid Gill, but also by Mr. Aslam Beg. He said openly that it is a major mistake to undermine Hekmatyar's political clout. Hekmatyar will emerge as a major power in the future, as even Western observers have stated. They say that if there is a Pashtun-Tajik confrontation, then Pashtuns will still support Hekmatyar. Wali Khan and Ajmal Khatak have also said that they would not hesitate in shaking hands with Hekmatyar. If these people have such an attitude towards Hekmatyar, then the Pashtuns in Afghanistan and the refugees, as well as the Pathans in our army and the bureaucracy, will have the same kind of reaction to him. The problem is not one of Pashtuns or Tajiks; it is much greater. It is a problem of the Islamic wave, which threw out the former communist president of Tajikistan, Rehman Nabi Yof, last week. Perhaps Hekmatyar will

take the flag of a Pashtun nation instead of using this Islamic wave. His green religious flag makes him a magnificent leader, and he does not need the flag of any other government. Anyhow, regardless of what happens, Hekmatyar will become stronger. If Mr. Nawaz Sharif does not want to show respect for Qazi Hussein Ahmed or the Jamaat-i-Islami, he should at least show some regard for Hekmatyar, because his role in the context of Afghanistan cannot be diminished. Making such a person our enemy will never help Pakistan. Not much is lost now, and Mr. Nawaz Sharif should not consider Qazi Sahib his opponent; he should consider him his helper in resolving the Afghanistan issue. Only the Jamaat-i-Islami and its leaders are in a position to influence Hekmatyar. The policy that our government has adopted at this time is such that General Dostam, Masood, and Mujadaddi are all distrustful of Pakistan. They have declared openly that Pakistan at first supported Hekmatyar, and that we do not need Pakistan now. We have our own military, our own militia, and we can resolve our problems with the help of the United States, central Asia, Iran, and the United Nations. We just do not need Pakistan now. The pro-Pakistan group that was in Hekmatyar's camp is angry now, because they feel they were stabbed in the back. They did not get support from either side, and they feel that no real supporter is left to help them. It was important that we had formed a policy to avoid having people get angry at us and in turn help us. However, the government created such an atmosphere that it has affected Pakistan's role in Afghanistan, as well as its importance there. Our government cannot do anything to rectify this problem. It should have let the Jamaat-i-Islami work in its own way and not stopped it. It should not have considered the Jamaat-i-Islami its enemy. In bad times, even a bad coin is useful, and the Jamaat-i-Islami is not a bad coin. It should get the respect due it.

Ji Said Preparing To Demonstrate in Streets

92AS1102B Islamabad THE MUSLIM
in English 8 Jun 92 p 5

[Article by Atta-Ur-Rehman: "Jamaat Decides To Use Street Power Against Government"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] Buner, June 7: Jama'at-e-Islami (JI) has finally decided to use its 'street power' against the present government THE MUSLIM learnt here.

Highly informed sources told THE MUSLIM that the Jama'at's top leadership had finally decided to 'go back to the masses' to mobilise them against the present federal and provincial governments. The campaign is likely to be started from July next.

However, THE MUSLIM was further told that Jama'at would not join hands with either APC [All Parties Conference] or PDA [People's Democratic Alliance].

Nevertheless, the JI would welcome sincere offers from any part or alliance of unconditional support to its proposed programme.

According to these sources, Jamaat-i-Islami has given final shape to its line of action for initiating the proposed anti-government campaign and of coping with the respective situation likely to emerge out of their campaign. The JI has also informed its provincial and district level organisations of the strategy evolved and finalised at a meeting of the JI's political committee, the sources concluded. [passage omitted]

MQM Leader Arrested on Murder, Other Charges

BK2406104992 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 24 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] Karachi—Security Forces Tuesday arrested the leader of a powerful ethnic body on charges of involvement in cases of murder, kidnapping and torture as he tried to flee the country, officials said here.

The army brought Salim Shehzad, senior vice-president of the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) and a member of the National Assembly [MNA], here from Quetta, where he was trying to cross the border after party dissidents took over MQM offices Friday, they said.

Altaf Hussain, founding father of the organisation, has also been named in one of three cases of murder, kidnapping and terrorism along with party secretary general Imran Farooq.

Provincial minister Safdar Baqri was also implicated but Shehzad is the only party leader to have been arrested.

When the dissidents took over the party offices in the Friday "coup," they accused the party leaders of conspiring with Pakistan's enemies to secede Sindh, dubbing Altaf Hussain, who has been in London for several months, and Shehzad as "anti-Pakistan" and "terrorists."

Altaf Hussain—who expelled the dissident leaders from the party in February 1991—said in a statement that they staged the takeover of the party's offices with the backing of the army. "Criminals under the patronage of the law enforcement agencies assailed the MQM offices using sophisticated weapons," he said.

Meanwhile, Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Asif Nawaz confirmed that MQM torture cells were operating in the city and people were being harassed by armed party cadres, involved in extortion of money.

His statement came after army discovered 17 torture cells in the city allegedly used by MQM for torturing opponents and dissidents.

MQM is a partner in the ruling coalition in Islamabad and in Sindh, where army was deployed toward the end of May to carry out a six-month operation against bandits saboteurs, terrorists and anti-social elements.

Meanwhile, many MQM leaders including Imran Farooq and Safdar Baqri have been charged with murder, kidnapping and extortion.

FIRs [First Information Reports] were registered with Landhi and Orangi police stations during the past 24 hours but no arrests were reported till the writing of these lines on Tuesday evening.

An official, at Landhi police station said that they had not arrested any person so far nominated in the FIRs but added that there was a lot of time for them.

In FIR No. 107/92, complainant Mohammad Shahid of Landhi accused the provincial minister Safdar Baqri and Salim Shehzad MNA of killing his brother and kidnapping the father.

Another FIR No. 108/92 has been reportedly lodged against Dr. Imran Farooq, leader of MQM's parliamentary party in the National Assembly, Salim Shahzad and Ashfaq by Mumtaz Begum. She has stated that all of them allegedly kidnapped her son Shoribullah and two others Irshad and Rasheed.

Meanwhile, Orangi police station also lodged an FIR on the report of one Mohammad Usman who alleged that Salim Shahzad and others kidnapped him on a dispute of a plot of land and released him later after receiving Rs. [Rupees] 73,000.

It may be mentioned that similar type of cases have already been lodged against the leaders of MQM (H) [Haqiqi Group].

However, when the Landhi police station was contacted to verify the reports and to give details of the FIRs registered against the Altaf Hussain-led MQM, an ASI [Assistant Subinspector of Police] Sher Zaman confirmed that such reports had been registered but declined to give details by saying that the SHO [Station House Officer] was not available who kept the whole record in his possession.

Paper Says President, IJI Damaged by MQM Ties

BK2906133392 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 29 Jun 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Save the Political System!"]

[Text] After the collapse of the house that President Ghulam Ishaq built in Sindh with the help of Jam Sadiq Ali, Irfanullah Marwat and Altaf Hussain, the political system presided over by him is at risk. He dissolved the assemblies in 190, saying that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government was corrupt. That assertion lost its persuasion within a year of the takeover of the elected government that replaced the PPP in Islamabad. The other presidential commitment was to the straightening out of the crisis in Sindh. After two years, that commitment too lies in shreds. The evil of the Jam Sadiq

administration, much commented upon by the national press (for which it was at times brutalised), has come out in the open. The collapse of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] has revealed much more evil than one thought was associated with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's order in Sindh. The taint of misgovernment in Sindh attaches now also to the President as details accumulate of how he ignored secret agencies' reports on the real state of affairs inside the MQM. The IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] government too is indicted by the downfall of its most importantly in Sindh and in the National Assembly. In so far as the 'taming' of the PPP was the common objective of both the President and the IJI, the crimes committed by Jam Sadiq and the MQM have blotted the robe of the IJI, too. Nothing that was done in the name of national security carries any significance now. The great charade of the PIA hijack, and even the high-seas operation against Al-Zulfikar, to implicate the PPP has been dwarfed and given the lie by the discovery of anti-Pakistan literature in MQM possession.

The IJI may desperately try to salvage the Altaf Hussain rump of the MQM to shore up the legitimacy of its past actions, but the rate at which the cauldron of misgovernment in Sindh is spewing its poisonous fumes, it will not be long before it has to rethink the strategy offered by Gen. Majid Malik to keep the MQM on board. It has taken two years for the Ghulam Ishaq Khan-IJI combination to run aground. Its moral and legal authority has all but vanished. It is only the constitution that is saving it from collapsing in the same manner as the MQM. Realising this fact, the common man is thinking in terms of martial law to break the deadlock. The pattern is familiar: our politicians work themselves into positions of such inflexibility that the democratic option of adjustment and accommodation cannot be exercised. After the army is called in to sweep the dirt spread around by the feuding politicians, it is discovered that a through sweeping of the system, rather than the selective hoovering mandated by the government in power, is actually required. At this point, the politicians, sensing that the system itself may be swept aside, feel the need to form a minimal consensus across their differences, but find that their vendettas are too deep-seated to be buried in favour of democracy. That point has been reached at least for the fourth time in Pakistan's martial law-ridden history. The IJI has been consistently advised by the press, (which is not overly fond of the 'dissolving' President), to build its bridges with the PPP, but has equally consistently plumped for the power of the President. If its interested in saving democracy in Pakistan, it should sit with the PPP (or with all the parties) across a conference table and decide how it can avert another martial law. The meeting can decide the date of next elections and the removal of the 8th Amendment to relieve Pakistan of the lingering legacy of General Zia. If they can't do this, then the President would rather hand the country over to martial law than retire on the plea of ill-health.

Government Accused of Torture, Mutilation

92AS1015A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 16 May 92 p 8

[Text] Hyderabad: The family members of Mazhar Iqbal Bhatti, who was killed by the naval task force in "anti-AZO operation" have blamed the government agencies for killing Mazhar by subjecting him to torture.

Addressing a press conference, Sohail Iqbal Bhatti, younger brother of Mazhar Iqbal, and Tarique Hussain Bhatti, brother-in-law of the deceased, said that the claim of naval task force about the killing of Mazhar in an encounter was totally baseless and the said encounter was "fully fabricated." They said that the bluish signs of torture on the whole body of Mazhar proved that he was killed through brutal torture. They said that the body of the deceased was in such a condition that it was not possible for the doctors to make autopsy of the body. They said that the body was spoiled deliberately by the agencies to make the case very complicated.

On the question, how they assumed that the dead body was spoiled by the agencies, they replied that it was felt that the body was passed from some chemical process and that process had badly affected the body, even not a single hair was left on the body. With the reference of Edhi Trust, they told the journalists that no mark of bullet wound was present on the dead body.

The relatives of Mazhar Iqbal said that Mazhar was an active member of SPSF [expansion not given] and was arrested by the agencies on 7 May. They claimed that he was brutally tortured and killed by these agencies with the other six political activists. They demanded judicial probe by the judges of high court.

Meanwhile, the leaders of Jeay Sindh Taraqi Passand Party (JSTPP) have alleged that the activists of their party were being arrested to fail the sit-in of the party workers in front of the Chief Minister House, scheduled on 19 May. These leaders declared that the sit-in would be staged in any condition.

Addressing a press conference, Marui Sindhi, leader of Jeay Sindh Taraqi Passand Nari, Tahreek, Punhal Sario, press secretary of Jeay Sindh Taraqi Passand Mahaz, and Abdul Bari Ansari, press secretary of Jeay Sindh Taraqi Passand Students Federation, said that their hundreds of activists had been arrested from the whole province. They blamed the government that it had planned to fail the programme of sit-in by the JSTPP and police had been directed to arrest the party workers. They announced that their programme for the sit-in would be staged in accordance with the schedule, despite the atrocities and high-handedness of police. They appealed to the people to participated in the sit-in.

Government Said To Discriminate Against Sindhi Press

92AS1015C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 May 92 p 4

[Article by Haider Nizamani: "Govt Ads: Discrimination Against Sindhi Papers Alleged"; figures as published]

[Text] Islamabad: When it comes to earning money from the government's pocket, all Sindhi language dailies combined together get less than one English daily owned by the government. According to statistics provided by the ministry of information, the total amount paid by government for advertisement to Sindhi dailies from February 1991 to February 1992 is Rupees 46,22,600 whereas the amount paid by the government to government-owned English daily the PAKISTAN TIMES is Rupees 76,16,000.

Sindhi dailies are widely circulated throughout the interior Sindh are in some respects the victims of government controlled funds for release of advertisement [sentence as published]. A closer look at the composition of the revenues earned by the Sindhi dailies reveals that the papers which disagree with the government are most unlikely to be chosen for the advertisements. These statistics were given in response to a question in the National Assembly. Since no mention is made of the circulation of respective dailies.

It is quite difficult to ascertain the actual criterion adopted by the government to distribute ads to the papers. However, it can be safely stated that papers which have little in common with the government policies earn very little. From Karachi, a number of Sindhi newspapers are published but in the list there appear only two names i.e. HILAL-E-PAKISTAN and AWAMI AWAZ. The former is considered as voice of the government and gets Rupees 11,82,700 whereas the AWAMI AWAZ, relatively not a pro-government paper, received only Rupees 1,91,88 in advertisements during the same period. It is an open secret that the circulation of AWAMI AWAZ certainly surpasses that of HILAL-E-PAKISTAN. The list of dailies published from Karachi does not contain the name of another leading Sindhi daily, JAGO. Statistics about dailies of Hyderabad, bastion of Sindhi journalism, portray a dismal picture. A Sindhi daily called MEHRAN (with financial interest of Pir Pagaro) gets about half a million rupees as compared with Rupees 3,700 given to hot cake of Sindhi evening KHADIM-E-WATAN.

The discretionary powers of the government in providing advertisements to newspapers have always been a cause of friction between the government and the newspaper industry. Special, the pick and choose policy adopted by the government, is having adverse effects on Pakistan's strongest regional language press.

Crackdown in Sindh Termed 'Witch-Hunt'

92AS1015B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 15 May 92 p 10

[Editorial: "The Witch-Hunt in Sindh"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Sindh government would probably invoke the hackneyed theme of 'looking for Al-Zulfikar terrorists' for its present crack down on the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in which over a thousand workers have been hauled up. That has been the standard ruse for every witch-hunt against the PPP to date. In this particular case, though, it gels thin because of the timing of the crack down. The authorities have told the press that the 'Naval Task Force vs AZO [Al-Zulfikar Organization] carnage took place on the night of 8 May. If that is true, and doubts have been raised about the truth of this claim by the independent press, the authorities had no time to hold lengthy investigations to obtain substantial proof for arresting over a thousand people. If the date of the encounter had been reported incorrectly, as Edhi Trust mortuary men suggest, the whole case falls through, and any action taken on the basis of spurious evidence automatically becomes a case of malafide intentions. The PPP has accused the Sindh government of precisely that. The Sindh PPP has said that the arrests have been made with 'the malafide intention' of thwarting its protest rallies all over the province on 14 May against rigging of Sanghar by-elections and the sit-in of JSTP [expansion not given] against present Sindh government on 19 May for its failure to protect rights of the Sindhis.

The other theory about the AZO incident and the mass arrests in Sindh is heinous still. It accuses the highest office in the land, the presidency, of masterminding the AZO incident and the subsequent crackdown in Sindh for scuttling the Benazir-Nawaz dialogue. Of course, the sober political observers would not care to give even a second thought to suggestion of presidential involvement. But in the polarised atmosphere of our politics, and owing to the president's known hostility towards the PPP, a section of the general public is likely to believe that. The prime minister should constitute a special inquiry into the Al-Zulfikar affair under a judge of impeccable credentials, and for once the nation should be informed about a matter that concerns national security. Till then, the crack down against the PPP should be on hold.

Balochistan Seen Ready To Explode in Sectarian Violence

92AS1015F Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
24 May 92 p 6

[Editorial: "The Balochistan Challenge Should Be Taken Up Before It Gets Worse"]

[Text] Although the situation in Quetta appears to have improved after the recent disturbances which had led to the imposition of curfew in the Balochistan capital, there

is no reason for either the provincial or the federal authorities to feel complacent about the strife there. Given the traditionally volatile nature of Balochistan's predominantly tribal social structure, it would be unwise to assume that the underlying tensions which had led to the recent spate of violence in the city would have been removed by the administrative measures taken to quell the disturbances. If anything, the unsettled conditions in Quetta today are symptomatic of an entirely new dimension which has progressively been added to the earlier mix of tribal frictions. Unlike some of the other unfortunate legacies of Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan imbroglio which can, hopefully, be managed and even overcome with relative ease, the large-scale upsetting of Balochistan demographic mix in the process offers a particularly sensitive challenge.

Of course there is no reason to believe that a large number of Afghan refugees who have roughed it out in Balochistan over the past 13 years and more, much as their compatriots primarily in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and also in other parts of Pakistan, would wait even a day longer than it is absolutely necessary for them to return to their homeland as soon as stability is restored to that ravaged country. But given the sparse nature of Balochistan's original population with its limited economic opportunities, the continued presence of any number of Pashtun Afghans in the province is unlikely to help restore ethnic harmony.

At the same time, the Pashtun segment of the indigenous population of Balochistan has in recent years acquired an assertive sense of identity which explains to a large measure its dissatisfaction with the prevailing state of affairs in the province. There is no justification for antagonising the community by refusing to check the veracity of its complaints that the official census figures do not account for the actual strength of Pashtun citizens in various parts of the province. The issue needs to be given top priority by the authorities. It is well worth remembering that in such sensitive areas, as that of group association, perceptions alone can go a long way in determining a community's social and political conduct. Thanks to the Afghan war, the people of Balochistan are, by and large, far better armed today than they have ever been in the past. And in view of the strategic location of the province, the continuation of unsettled conditions in Balochistan would not only take a heavy toll of Pakistan's domestic stability but also provide an excellent opportunity for external interests to fish in the troubled waters.

NWFP: Political Changes Expected This Month

92AS1167B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
1 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text] Peshawar, June 30—July is likely to be the month of important political changes in the Frontier and if the

current kite-flying in the capital is to be believed, Governor Janjua should also be getting a diplomatic assignment once again. But his stars had always proved more powerful than speculations and wishes.

Besides him, for whose replacement the speculations said, there were as many as five contenders, including a former Federal Secretary, that is Roedad Khan, whose nomination for the job had earlier been turned down by the highest authority when the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] was in power and it had an agreement with the ANP [Awami National Party] to hand over the governorship to its nominee.

The others reportedly under consideration were the sitting Senior Minister in Mir Afzal Khan's cabinet Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan, former Governor Fida Mohammad Khan, former Federal Minister Nisar Mohammad Khan and Adviser to the Chief Minister and former bureaucrat Jehanzeb Khan. The latter, almost throughout his service career, had been enjoying the reputation of being more a politician than a bureaucrat and that was not wrong.

He was very closely associated with some of the major political developments, including the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] struggle against General Zia in the early eighties. That was rather his masterpiece through the courtesy of Dilbar Khan of Takkar. The possibility of a surprise in the final choice could not be ruled out.

Governor Janjua's exit was being claimed by the tribal members of the Senate and the National Assembly, who had picked up a quarrel with him and were under the traditional tribal oath not to have any contact with him. Any violation of the oath involved a fine of Rs one million.

For some time, they stuck to the oath but cracks started appearing when the Minister of State Ajmal Khan not only met him but also accompanied him to condole the death of a tribal elder to Waziristan. The eye-witnesses said that they were pleasantly engaged in "gup shup" giving the impression that nothing bitter existed between the two.

Since then some middlemen had been trying to end the crisis and finally it had reportedly been agreed that the tribal oath should be suspended for a couple of months, after which the Governor would be replaced. So the contact was restored and the tribals claimed that the picturesque 'white house' should be occupied by some one else, latest by the end of the next month. Janjua, however, was as confident as ever.

Chief Minister. Mir Afzal Khan, who was in London to assist the Prime Minister in his search for foreign investment in Pakistan has also been the subject of gossiping and speculation. And what added this kite-flying and helped the authors to add an element of authenticity to their claims was his delayed return.

The longer stay was said to be due to his toe which had been fractured some time back and was giving him trouble. But here there were all sorts of rumours about

him and his replacement, though a busy schedule starting from the inauguration of the new division of Bannu on July 1, awaited him here.

An interesting debate has been that nobody in his absence, was nominated as the officiating chief executive, a provision which had been undone through a Presidential Order in 1985. Since then it has not been the practice to nominate the Chief Minister officially. In this process of rumour-mongering one person who had been running around hectically and holding the fort admirably was perhaps publicity-shy Tariq Khan, the Special Assistant, a former bureaucrat. Though active on all fronts, he prefers to remain in the background, unlike the Prime Minister's Special Assistant Nisar Ali.

Interestingly, some of the incidents which according to insiders didn't occur in London, had been widely publicised here but not the one which really happened, causing embarrassment to the Pakistan delegation. Perhaps because it involved Federal Minister for Industries Sh Rashid Ahmad. The Chief Minister is now finally back.

Religious ID Card Requirement Praised

92AS1053C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
16 May 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Religious Section on National Identification Cards"]

[Text] The federal government has decided that a space to identify religion will be included in the identification cards to be made on computers in the future. According to a government source, the home ministry has approved this proposal. The federal government's decision to include information on religion in identification cards will be welcomed by the whole nation. This satisfies the demand made by religious groups and organizations that had been fighting for it for a long time. Some ethnic groups insisted on being called Muslims even after they were declared non-Muslims. It was difficult to identify a Muslim from a non-Muslim since there was no section on religion on these cards. According to the government's decision, every applicant will be required to give information on his religion on the application form.

Religious Identification Card Proposal Attacked

92AS1015E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 May 92 p 7

[Article by Hafizur Rahman: "But Seriously"; italicized words as published]

[Text] *And if any of my readers think it is someone other than maulvis who encourage sectarianism in the country, the Hindus and the Jews for example, they may please let me know and I'll stand corrected and undergo the necessary penance.*

Maulvis, particularly those belonging to a certain political-cum-sectarian school of thought, have demanded

that when the new national identity cards are made, the holder's religion must also be mentioned on them. In other words, keep on dividing Pakistanis on the basis of their religious beliefs.

The reason advanced by them has nothing to do with common sense, any urgent national need or other potent excuse which should oblige the government to take this extraordinary step. The motivation apparently is to prevent persons holding certain beliefs from passing themselves off as Muslims in Saudi Arabia.

One would have thought that it was the responsibility of the Saudi Arabian authorities to regulate and control the entry of foreigners into the kingdom and to the holy places where only Muslims are allowed. As far as I know, such a request to act as clearing agent has not been received from that country which considers itself fully capable of solving its problems without the help of Pakistani identity cards.

No government leader or politician has the gumption to give a piece of his mind to *maulvis* because *maulvis* ever since General Zia made them his constituency, have stopped listening to anyone talking reason. Steeped in ignorance of the demands that modern life places on man, they claim to be know-alls and insist on forcing their antediluvian views on the nation.

However, for once last week, the *maulvis* did listen to the President. They had to, because it is they who had sought a meeting with him, and they couldn't very well come away after thrusting their own opinions of him. And these were no ordinary *maulvis*, for the delegation which called on the head of state was advertised as coming from the Muttahida Markazi Jamiat-i-Mashaikh Pakistan.

Mashaikh, as you might know (or might not know) is a euphemism for *pirs*. Just as there are no *maulvis* nowadays, only *ulema*, similarly *pirs* don't want to be called *pirs* any longer. They have promoted themselves to *mashaikh*. However I am not out today just to give you this information.

I liked what the President said to the delegation, although I'm sure he didn't have me in mind when he delivered himself of the advice. He exhorted the *pirs* or *mashaikh* if you will, to play their part in ridding the Muslim society of Pakistan of the evil of sectarianism.

Of course if he had wanted to be blunt and brutally frank, the President could have asked these religious divines (that's another euphemism for *pirs*) why they and others of their ilk, the *ulema* for example, had promoted sectarianism in the first place. But he is anything if not polite and I suppose he couldn't ask embarrassing questions from his guests.

There can be no two opinions about the fact that it is the *maulvis* who have always stoked the fires of sectarianism. If someone with a magic wand could put all the *maulvis* in Pakistan to sleep for, say, one month, the problem would vanish, and even a hotbed of sectarianism like Jhang could become as liberal and tolerant a city as Islamabad.

And if any of my readers think it is someone other than *maulvis* who encourage sectarianism in the country, the Hindus and the Jews for example, they may please let me know and I'll stand corrected and undergo the necessary penance.

And now they want this new addition on the ID card. I can't say whether it is intentional or whether those who call for this innovation do so in their ignorant innocence, but this certainly is one positive way of making sure that Pakistanis should not acquire and develop a national identity.

As constituted today, the national ID card carries all the information that is necessary for an identity card, following the practice in countries from where this requirement was imported in Mr. Z.A. Bhutto's time. Any person, or anyone in government, who is interested in the card-holder's religion can always look up the record against the ID card number of the holder and see whether he is a Muslim or a Sikh.

If the demand is accepted, what is the guarantee that the *maulvis* are going to stop at this? Just as after the state declaration of the Ahmadis as non-Muslims there are rumblings asking for other sects to be dismissed from the pale of Islam, we may see attempts at further schism. As a corollary, there could be a demand that a person's sect should also be mentioned on the card. People from areas where the structure of society is tribal, can ask that the name of their tribe should form an integral part of the information contained on the card. And those agitating for the promotion and recognition of our regional languages may put forth the demand that the mother tongue of every citizen should also feature on it.

The result could well be that, taking the Interior Minister's personal case as an example, (since he is in charge of the Registration Department) we will know from his card that his religion is Islam and his sect Sunni and subsect Barelvi, that caste-wise he is a Jat, and his subcaste (tribe) is Warraich, and that this mother tongue is Punjabi. The card will thus tell us everything about him that is superfluous, except (as published) the basic fact that he is a Pakistani. In fact, there will be hardly anything Pakistani left in the Minister after that.

But seriously, have our religious leaders nothing better to think of? Already they are accused of glossing over a host of social crimes in our society and ignoring iniquities like gang-rape, back-breaking high prices, financial scandals involving billions of the ordinary people's money and other evils. Will the inclusion of a person's religion on his ID card alleviate all these miseries? Where is their sense of Islamic justice?

Military Deployment in Sindh Draws Skepticism

MQM Opposed

924511004 Karachi DAWN in English 29 May 92 p 3

[Article: "MQM Opposes Army Action in Sindh"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] Karachi, May 28: Dr. Imran Farooq, MNA [Member of National Assembly] and Secretary General of MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], on Thursday opposed the proposed army action in Karachi and Hyderabad against innocent people and said the Prime Minister and the Federal Government would be responsible for the consequences of any such action.

Speaking at a largely attended gathering at the inauguration ceremony of KMC's [expansion not given] Taleemi Bagh for children at Federal 'B' Area, he opposed victimisation of any political leader or political parties "in the guise of the operation."

He categorically said the military operation should confine itself to dacoits and terrorists and that too under the supervision of the elected government of Sindh.

Dr. Imran Farooq criticised the role of the JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] for asking the government to launch the operation in Karachi and Hyderabad. "Is it because they [the JUP] had been voted out by the people of the two cities or because they consider the people of these cities as dacoits or terrorists?" he asked. They should remember that the operation was directed against dacoits and terrorists alone and none else, he added.

He said all those at the helm of affairs should remember that the MQM faced three operations during the Zia regime, but instead of being crushed, it emerged stronger.

Dr. Imran cautioned all those who had unleashed a campaign of vilification to crush the MQM, that the MQM will not tolerate such campaigns. He said if at all action was on the basis of power, the struggle will go on from generation to generation. [passage omitted]

Political Solution Needed

924511008 Karachi DAWN in English 25 May 92 p 11

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "Another Call to Arms"]

[Text] Sindh has been in great trouble for a long time but it had to take the kidnapping of a leading member of the Ismaili community, somebody who also happens to be the Aga Khan's representative in this country, to stir the various powers that rule Pakistan out of their torpor and into some form of action. The result of this belated awakening is the decision to launch an operation, spear-headed by the Mehran Force and led by the army, to curb crime and lawlessness in the province.

Surprise might have helped the execution of this operation. But with newspapers full of stories for the past few

days about the appropriate legal cover for this action, the element of surprise has been an early casualty. Unless the dacoits of rural Sindh and the guerrillas of urban Sindh are more dimwitted than is supposed, they are unlikely to be staying in their hideouts awaiting capture by the Mehran Force.

The objections against the deployment of the army, or even a part thereof, for law and order duties are, of course, familiar. Political problems are best solved by political methods. Furthermore, military interventions often create more problems than they solve as our own army found to its cost in East Pakistan in 1971 and the Indian army more recently in Indian Punjab and Sri Lanka.

But these objections founder on the rocks of a powerful counter-argument. Is there an alternative to this operation that the army is about to launch? Successive civilian governments have failed to control crime or to otherwise improve the situation in Sindh. Benazir Bhutto's government could not get along with the MQM, something for which it had to pay a heavy price in the end. Jam Sadiq Ali could not abide the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. In order to keep it at bay he entered into all sorts of unholy alliances which triggered off their own consequences.

He also had to go to great lengths to keep the MQM and its volatile leader in good humour. The cumulative effect of these policies was to reap a harvest of bitterness in the interior of Sindh and a harvest of appeasement in its cities. Far from being reprimanded for his actions, Jam Sadiq Ali received all the encouragement he wanted from his godfathers in Islamabad who, accordingly, must share a measure of blame for Sindh's present condition. When Jam Sadiq Ali was hospitalised in London, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan sent him a message saying that all "democracy-loving" people were praying for his recovery. This was surely one of the more bizarre pronouncements to issue from the Presidency over the past two years.

The present chief minister, Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, is no better-placed than any of his predecessors to tackle the problems of the province. He cannot annoy the MQM because that would threaten his uneasy coalition and perhaps also lead to a law-and-order situation in Karachi. He must always humour the Pir of Pagara whose political acolyte he professes to be (Pir Pagara, incidentally, being a person whose political importance rises whenever there is an unrepresentative set-up in the province). Syed Muzaffar Shah is thus a prisoner of his circumstances. He can deliver all the speeches he likes (something at which he is said to be good) but he is in no position to act decisively.

Given this situation and given the recent kidnappings (which have merely drawn fresh attention to an old problem) the only alternative left was to allow the army to take matters into its own hands. But this course of action, even if inescapable, raises more questions than it answers.

For instance, did Mian Nawaz Sharif himself come to the conclusion that the situation in Sindh had reached the point where he had to ask the army for its assistance or was it the army which "persuaded" his government that this is what had to be done? The manner in which the political leadership trooped to GHQ [General Headquarters] to listen to a briefing on Sindh from the army chief and his aides lends strength to the second rather than the first of these possibilities. This does not cast a very flattering light on the Prime Minister's famous powers of leadership. But about that the less said the better.

Or take this question. Is civilian inadequacy, of which the signs are fairly evident, an excuse for the army to plume itself on its own supposed decisiveness? It would be unfortunate if that were the case. If President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, as the godfather of the present political arrangement, bears some responsibility for the political mess in which Sindh finds itself today, the army too is not blameless for the larger problems casting their shadows over the province.

Was it not Zia's military rule which gave birth to the problems which have Sindh in their grip today, turning one of Pakistan's most peaceful regions into one of its most disturbed? The army must also carry some blame for the rise of political extremism in the cities, a phenomenon which has split the province down the middle along ethnic lines. In both cases the short-term objective of crushing or containing the PPP blinded the military junta to the wider consequences of its actions. This history should teach the army some humility as it goes about solving the problems of Sindh.

But there is also a great opportunity waiting in the wings. If the army is mindful of that old dictum of Horace's that "...power with counsel tempered even the gods make greater; but might which in its soul is bent on all impety, they hate," it can atone for and redeem its past errors. There is no denying the need for firmness and decisiveness when it comes to attacking the phenomenon of crime in Sindh. But if this exercise is not to be counter-productive it must be carried out with complete even-handedness and impartiality. The army's hand should fall wherever it deserves to fall. It should not be stayed for fear of upsetting this or that member of Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's rickety coalition. Sindh is past the stage where its affairs should be kept hostage to petty considerations.

Another point: the Karachi corps commander must take extraordinary steps to ensure that junior officers of the Mehran Force do not behave like little conquerors when they enter remote villages or hamlets in the interior. Nothing could be more calculated to fan the flames of bitterness among rural Sindhis or to give the army a bad name.

It would also help if this nonsense, some of it in the form of planted stories, about saboteurs coming from across the Indian border, was stopped. Does the army or a

counter-intelligence agency need special powers to nab foreign-trained saboteurs? Counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism are functions which should be carried out night and day and under all weather conditions. If the army needs a special go-ahead from the Prime Minister or any other civilian to strike at foreign-trained saboteurs then it is failing in one of its primary responsibilities. And, please, no more encounters like the one staged by our vigilant navy against the AZO [Al-Zulfikar Organization]. It was such a botched venture that even the ISPR [Inter-Services Public Relations] refused to have anything to do with it. To expect that any heads will roll as a result is, of course, to ask for the impossible because such things invariably go unaccounted for in the Islamic Republic. But such zeal as the navy has shown could be avoided in the coming operation.

A last question. If a chief minister is not fit enough to keep the Mehran Force under his command, does it not follow that he is scarcely fit to govern the province? This logic would seem unavailable except that no one in Islamabad is willing to abide by its consequences. Neither the President nor, for all his talk of reconciliation, is the Prime Minister prepared to countenance the possibility of the PPP, demonstrably the largest party in Sindh, to come to power in that province.

Government Indecisive

92451100C Karachi DAWN in English 26 May 92 p 16

[Article by A. R. Siddiqui: "Sindh Operation No Longer a 'Crackdown'"]

[Text] A 'crackdown' is a sudden, lightning strike against a pre-targeted objective a vital point or a gang. It is a surprise raid or attack to take or neutralise the objective in one fell swoop. Such an action would not permit of undue delay, shilly-shallying, worst of all, too much loud talk to forewarn the 'enemy'—within or without and thus allow him time enough to get ready for countermeasures or look for and find an escape route or whatever.

The profusion of conflicting statements at the level of ministers, federal and provincial MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly], responsible political leaders and others about the 'impending' act in Sindh has left the common citizen in a state of agonising suspense and grinding uncertainty. He does not know when and where the so-called 'operation Blue Fox' would begin and when and where it would end. It is virtually impossible for him to decide as to who is a 'dacoit.' Is he a hardened criminal or a politically-motivated outlaw or a maverick?

What would be the balance of forces between the military and the para-military involved in the operation? And under what law would they operate? In the absence of Article 245 of the Constitution what other legal cover would be available to the armed forces engaged in aid of the civil power? Would their authority end with the search-and-seize phase or extend to the setting-up of

military courts for summary, non-bailable and non-appealable disposal of criminal cases?"

Sindh's two largest cities Karachi and Hyderabad happen to be the stronghold of a political party forming a vital component of the provincial government. This would, sooner or later, confront the authorities with the tricky problem as to how to deal with shady characters in the urban areas.

And how and where to draw the line between acts of violence committed criminally, as individual aberrations, and act committed politically in pursuance of the party line.

Defence Minister Syed Ghous Ali Shah in a statement, (May 25) said: "MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] will be briefed about the operation." In other words, MQM, the principal supportive pillar of Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's government, is yet to be briefed about the operation. This is something quite unusual, if not wholly unexpected, in the existing situation where the right hand might not quite know what the left might be up to. Nothing like a firm and coordinated approach, to the crisis at the level of the federal and provincial governments is within view. Each appears having its own perception of the crisis and the way to handle it without burning its fingers, as far as possible. Each seems to be suffering from deep mental reservations about the conduct and the consequences of the operation.

The military arms and paramilitary once launched would stop at nothing to deal with the situation and put it right as quickly as they can. They would not, and are not supposed, to discriminate for or against suspects and known criminals on the basis of their political affiliations.

Politics is placed on the back burner once the military is called in. And to allow politics to interfere unduly with a military operation would be rubbing the military up the wrong way and leaving the law-abiding common-folk wondering about what it's all about? It would, in effect, be almost like ceasing fire in the middle of hostilities before the final objective is achieved.

In 1957 Operation Close Door was launched in East Pakistan to stop external cross-border smuggling more goods being smuggled out than smuggled in. The operation was making good progress when the army was told to call it off. The result was more smuggling and an increased antipathy of the army towards the civilian regime and the resulting disillusionment with it.

More or less, a similar situation arose in 1983 and 1990 in Sindh during the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] upsurge and the civic turmoil under Ms. Benazir Bhutto. The army was told to suspend its operations midway to make the situation worse.

In the first case (MRD 1983) the activists went underground to surface again, and in the second (Pucca Qila May 1990) Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto never had a

moment of peace until her unceremonious dismissal some three months later under a presidential order.

The lesson to be learnt from the two incidents is that once the army is called out (or in) by lawful authority it should be allowed to go the whole hog until it achieves the objective. Ideally, a political issue or crisis should be tackled by political means without military intervention. This would be in the interest of the civil regime as much as of the military. The induction of the army in civil affairs, in one sense or the other, is an admission or indication no matter how little of civilian failure.

To a question, Defence Minister Ghous Ali Shah said that the "powers" of law courts would not be "suspended" through the "impending" military operation. This is all very well. He must however, tell exactly what power, the army would be given in areas of operation. Also whether the operation will cover the entire province or selected localities only.

Most importantly, if the action is to be launched at all, its parameters should be defined and let it get under way without further compromising the element of surprise.

Disservice to Nation

924511000 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Jun 92 p 4

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari "Sindh Policy: A Dangerous Historical Amnesia"]

[Text] The decision to finally use the military in Sindh is a sorry reflection of the state of Pakistani polity. It is astounding that a generation that underwent the trauma of Bangladesh can be devoid of a frightful sense of déjà vu. As in 1971, the present decision to deploy the army in Sindh primarily reflects the success of the civilian ruling elite's deliberate policy of thwarting democratic process in Sindh based upon a narrow, short-term and self-destructive purpose of trying to eliminate the People's Party.

Not only did the President and the Central Government allow Jam Sadiq to run rampant in Sindh, they deliberately encouraged the violent feudal style of Jam Sadiq to dictate the political dynamics of Sindh—thereby ensuring the exacerbation of the polarisation in the province. The national leadership's mocking attitude towards democratic norms was exemplified by the power vested in the President's son-in-law, Mr. Marwat, who ran riot in the province—especially in Karachi—with torture, rape and all manner of physical abuse becoming accepted means of dealing with any whimpering of opposition.

The approval from Islamabad for this form of governance in Sindh was reflected in the post-Jam period with Muzaffar Hussain Shah continuing the policies of his predecessor and Mr. Marwat providing the necessary continuity in policy implementation. That the urbane political liberalism and tolerance with which Mr. Shah

had been associated, quickly dissipated in the face of the harsh realities of the power game in Sindh, reflects the lack of any commitment to democratic principles and morality amongst the civilian political elite of the nation—regardless of where they are positioned on the Pakistani political spectrum. In fact, there does not seem to be a national political spectrum at all in terms of ideology or party agenda—other than an agenda of self-aggrandisement!

As has been the case in the nation's various efforts at establishing a democratic polity—be it in the early fifties or in the post-Bangladesh period—this subjugation of national interest to petty, internecine political rivalries and absolute intolerance of opposing forces has always undermined not only the fledgling roots of democracy but also the very fabric of a national synthesis.

The present scenario is rife with the same elements of disaster that have accompanied previous military interventions in the country—regardless of the type and the guise under which they have been initiated. To begin with, no national consensus exists amongst the political elite over the invocation of Article 147 for the present military deployment—despite claims to the contrary by the present Sharif government.

Equally confusing are the statements emanating from the President and the Prime Minister relating to the issue of Indian involvement in Sindh. While the President has stated that there is no solid proof about Indian involvement—with only circumstantial evidence acting as an indicator in this direction (THE MUSLIM, May 30, 92)—the Prime Minister has come out with a categorical accusation of Indian infiltration into Sindh.

In addition, he has involved the U.N. in Pakistan's Sindh problem by informing that organisation of Indian interference in Sindh. Again, it seems the leadership has forgotten the 1971 experience—where international interventionism in the army action in East Pakistan became a critical factor in allowing India to mobilise the international community against Pakistan's militaristic policy in that province.

While it is perfectly credible to assume the role of the India factor in the unrest in Sindh, is it really desirable from the national perspective to internationalise what should remain an internal matter? By appealing to the U.N. and planning on sending emissaries to various countries to inform them of Indian interference in Sindh, the Sharif government is legitimising external comment and interventionism in what is basically a political problem which has been compounded by a law and order crisis.

Perhaps our elite's constant tampering with the rewriting of our history has led to a general pervasion of amnesia within the ruling elite's mental recesses—otherwise, the historical experience of 1971 should have served to make the Prime Minister more cautious and tempered in his exuberance of appealing to the international community on the Sindh issue.

Of course, in the final analysis, it is the lack of national consensus and the resort to the military for the resolution of a political conflict that are the most disturbing aspects of the decision to deploy the army in Sindh. In a province where political polarisation along ethnic lines has led to a whole segment of society harbouring intense feelings of victimisation, military action can only add to the sense of discrimination—despite Islamabad's claims of ensuring that the army will be completely nondiscriminatory in its actions.

As long as the civilian political government in Sindh continues to be in the hands of a particular group—whose popular mandate is questionable at best—there is ample room for claims of victimisation. This becomes all the more potent when there already exists a history of resentment towards not only the central government amongst the ethnic Sindhis—it also the army which was seen as a repressive force especially during the Zia dictatorship. The Prime Minister's reassurance given to the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) leadership regarding its party members can only add to the sense of insecurity and a suspicion that equity and justice will be the least of Islamabad's priorities.

After all, if the whole political process and norms of democracy were compromised continuously over the last few years merely to wipe out the political opposition, it seems less than credible that the same political elite will now observe the rules of fairplay! To use the military in such a situation—when the other dynamics remain constant—is to drag this institution into the sub-national political machinations of the country.

At a time when the military has reasserted its professional identity and when the external threat environment of the country is critical, dragging the army into the political quagmire of Sindh may be a case of severe disservice to the nation. Perhaps the present ruling elite needs to recall the repercussions of the political intransigence and refusal to abide by democratic norms by the civilian elite in 1971. The amnesia over the Bangladesh crisis could prove to be too heavy a cost for the national polity to sustain.

No-Win Situation

92AS1100E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
6 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by S. Ahmad: "Coping With the No-Win Situation in Sindh"; italicised words as published]

[Text] When Ms. Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister sought the help of the Army to suppress lawless elements in Sindh, the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Aslam Beg Wanted the Army to be invested with the requisite authority under Article 245 of the Constitution.

She was not ready to hand over Sindh or a large part of it to the Army so soon after democracy had returned to Pakistan after 11 long years of military rule, although under that Article the Army would be coming to the aid of civil power "subject to law," but with the jurisdiction of the High Court suspended in such areas.

Although the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] then had an overwhelming majority in the Sindh Assembly, she was facing opposition on the ground from the formidably organised MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] on one side, and from the Jeay Sindh extremists and other assorted militants taking to violence on the other. And yet she was not ready to invoke Article 245, and the Army was not ready to intervene in adequate strength with anything less.

If that situation has changed altogether now, and the Army has come to the aid of the civil power under the feeble Article 147 it is because neither the Army nor the Sindh administration expect any jurisdictional conflict. They are hand-in-glove with each other.

To begin with, unlike Ms. Bhutto who came to power at the Centre in the face of the initial opposition or resistance from President Ghulam Ishaq, who was backed by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah is a nominee of the Centre. And he would not oppose federal moves to restore law and order in Sindh through military means and risk his office.

He cannot oppose such a move as he himself has not been able to improve the situation in Sindh. Kidnapping of industrialists has continued in Karachi, and in the case of Mr. Ashiq Ali, Chairman of the Aga Khan Council in Pakistan even 10 days after his kidnapping his whereabouts are not known and the kidnappers had not established any contact with his family. Killing of persons by snipers in Hyderabad and Sukkur have continued along with bomb explosions. And in the interior of Sindh whole busloads of passengers are kidnapped and attacks on trains using rocket launchers and other powerful weapons have increased.

Jam Sadiq Ali had promised to restore law and order within three months and saw the situation get far worse during the 20 months he was in office. Mr. Muzaffar Shah wanted one year, but too many persons had been kidnapped and quite a few killed in the first few weeks of his administration which showed more eloquence and less efficacy.

In such a context, if the Army could suppress the lawless elements he would be happy and can hope to be in office for some time. If it could not, that would give rise to a whole new set of questions which could imperil his future.

But Mr. Muzaffar Shah and the rulers in Islamabad have one thing in common: They do not want fresh elections in Sindh, and the coming to power of PPP.

Nor do they want to let the PPP form the government in Sindh now as the single largest party in the assembly which won 47 out of the 100 seats in 1990.

The Centre is facing a kind of situation in which it can neither spit out nor swallow nor stay still. So it has to devise all kinds of subterfuges or compromises. Anyway,

the Army or Rangers action is not to be a quick one, but will last for quite some time. Governor Mahmoud Haroon has said the Army intervention would be for a maximum of six months.

What that means is that if the Army was not in a hurry to act early, it would not be in a hurry to quit Sindh either after coming in. So, if because of the delay in starting the army action many of the dacoits and kidnappers have fled from their areas or the province, the Army would wait for them to come back or surface and then grab hold of them.

If the army intervention is going to be that long it can give rise to serious complications for Mr. Muzaffar Shah and his large cabinet and battery of advisers with no advice to tender but plenty of privileges and perquisites to enjoy. The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] will not back his government if its people are picked up by the Army in large numbers. The members of the Sindh Assembly backing him would give up their support for him if some of them, their relations or associates are picked up and tried. Already one MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly], Aga Ghulam Ali had threatened to submit his resignation from the Assembly. Later, wisdom prevailed and he realised that he was better or safer as an MPA.

At the moment while the people want to be saved from the dacoits, kidnappers and terrorists no party including the PPP, MQM and Jeay Sindh elements are for army intervention. Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto of the Sindh National Front is agreeable to army intervention if it would be fair and non-discriminatory, and the Rangers seize all the illegal weapons in Karachi and Hyderabad as well.

The fact is that initially some of the Vaderas might have been backing the dacoits or benefiting by them. But lately, too many of them have fallen victims to the dacoits who demand large sums from them. If they fail to pay up, their standing crops or stored gains or their homes are burnt.

Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto, hence says that dacoit power is far more powerful in Sindh now than Vadera power.

If the army intervention does not pay dividends after the initial few weeks, it could be enlarged and escalated. And if that does not solve the problem, the Assembly would have to be dissolved or suspended, as otherwise it would become very critical of the army action. Elements from all the parties could become the targets of army action, and so there may soon be a consensus in the provincial assembly against the action, and even collective protest or action against military intervention.

It is a kind of no-win situation the Centre and its nominee in Sindh are facing. If they don't act in the normal manner now they can't sit tight as the situation goes from bad to worse, with external intervention, too, escalating the crisis. If the failure of the army action or protest against it leads to dissolution of the assembly and fresh elections, the Centre might be losing its game of keeping the PPP out of power at any cost. And if the army action combines all the major elements in Sindh against it, that will also be a major political loss for the Centre.

And if fresh elections are to be held ultimately, the government cannot be sure of winning by rigging the polls again as done in 1990 and in the subsequent by-elections in Sindh.

Some people talk gullibly of an East Pakistan situation arising if the army action fails. But unlike East Pakistan, the Mohajirs are not with the Army but dread its intervention. Secondly, in East Pakistan it was a clear case of East against the West. And in Balochistan in the early 1970s it was the Balochis as a whole by and large against the Centre. What Sindh may face is Lebanese nightmare.

Compared to either province, Sindh is heavily splintered. There is the Mohajir-Sindhi split. And the Jeay Sindh elements are also split and the extent of their militancy varies. In the interior there is also the Sindhi-settler split. And there is the conflicts between the landed rich and the poor Haris who want a better deal. And the Mohajirs in Karachi are not a monolithic entity and many do not regard or describe themselves as Mohajirs and have no other place to go.

The problem of the Sindh government would have been less arduous if it could rely on the police. But the police is more of a problem than a solution to the law and order crisis. Too many police officers and constables are involved in crimes and have been benefiting a great deal in that way ex-cops who have taken to crimes are not small in number.

Hence the Army has its list of senior and junior police officers who must go if its operation is to be a success. Otherwise they will leak details of the operations to come and nullify them or get some of the Rangers and policemen killed. Even police wireless operators have been found conveying information to the dacoits first and police officers later.

If a large number of police officers are removed from their exceedingly profitable vantage points there can be a serious split between the Army and the police as well.

All this springs from the wrong approach to the problem over a long period of time and from the divide and rule policy devised by Gen. Zia to stamp out the PPP. It is the outcome of seeking a strong arm administrative or police solution to a political problem.

If the PPP was enabled to come to power in Sindh after the 1990 elections the heavens would not have fallen. Nor will the Mohajirs really gain by the obduracy of the MQM not to let the PPP come anywhere near power.

Normally a political solution is sought first and finally a military solution. Instead the cart is being placed before the horse. Maybe if it fails, a political solution may become inevitable.

A military strategist who writes a great deal with more passion than light told an alternative group at a wedding: "This is the last step in Sindh." "Last but one" I said! "It

never occurred to him there could be a political situation in Sindh and I was surprised."

It is time we make it obligatory for all those strategists writing on Sindh to read Robert Fisk's *Pity the Nation—Lebanon at war* as well as Barbara Tuchman's *The March of Folly*. If we can't think before we leap, let us at least read before we decree.

Leaders Critical

92AS1100F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Jun 92 p 5

[Article: "Political Leaders Sceptical of Sindh Operation"]

[Excerpt] Peshawar, May 31: Majority of the leaders, who were present at the walima ceremony of the son of JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] Amir, Qazi Hussain Ahmad were sceptical about the arms operation in Sindh saying that it would bear no fruit.

Those who talked to newsmen included veteran politician and APC [All Parties Conference] leader, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leader and TI [Tehrik-i-Istiqlal] Chief Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders Farooq Leghari and Iftikhar Gilani, besides Ex-Chief of Army Mirza Aslam Beg. The situation in Afghanistan was also discussed in the talks.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said that the late Chief Minister of Sindh who was a non-representative person, was responsible for the whole situation. Nawabzada was worried about the future of Sindh and said that the government should have first taken the people into confidence. However, he expected positive results. When asked whether the issue would be taken up at the APC platform, his reply was in the negative. He added that they were waiting for his results.

Asghar Khan stated that it was a proof of the failure of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government that it despatched Army to Sindh. He also said that IJI was moving towards its end and its allies were leaving the government.

He criticised the Army operation and said that it was necessary to have a national government and, hold fair and impartial elections. He further said that no elections would be acceptable to the PDA under the present set-up. [passage omitted]

Situation Urgent

92AS1100G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Jun 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Are We Not Fiddling While Sindh Burns?"]

[Text] If one were to measure the Prime Minister's sense of urgency about the situation in Sindh by his decision not to visit that province till after the Budget debate is

over, there is no escape from unrelieved dismay. Deployment of the army to restore law and order is proclamation of total breakdown of civil administration. When this be the case, as it so manifestly is, what is Premier Nawaz Sharif waiting for? What greater calamity could possibly occur? While the Prime Minister takes time off the weekends at home in Lahore and a game of merry cricket (some lusty fours and sixes thrown in for good measure), dacoits, assassins, outlaws prowl all over Sindh with, now the army chasing them. And the Prime Minister of the country betrays not the slightest sign of concern. It takes some nerve to be so supremely nonchalant in crises so perplexing as the one we have on our hands in Sindh. George Bernard Shaw must have had some similar set of circumstances in mind when he said he felt most unhappy when he found people happy. Is this the time for a Prime Minister of Pakistan to fly out of the capital for a day of cricket!

The other side of the picture is scarcely less unsettling. The President of Pakistan, who should have precious little to do with the running of the administration appears to be all over the place and obligingly articulate to an extent not easy to reconcile with his lofty status. Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has been perhaps the most sociable head of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. However, it is one thing to be accessible and quite another to be virtually running the government for what is increasingly looking like a playboy prime minister. There are scores of perfectly good reasons why for the sake of propriety the head of the state should remain above the day to day running of the government. In the case of Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan it is imperative that he should keep a very decent distance from the affairs of Sindh for the simple reason that his highly controversial son-in-law continues to be the hub and centre of Sindh administration, or whatever of it may still be functional.

Back to the visit to Sindh that Mr. Nawaz Sharif says he is planning to undertake at his own convenience. He says he will meet a cross-section of the people. What exactly does he mean by cross-section remains clouded by his own style of thought which is now pretty clearly known to be coloured by the convenience of the moment. Mr. Nawaz Sharif has given enough evidence to permit the conclusion that the parliamentary opposition, or its leader, does not really matter. When was it last that he met the leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly? Or when did he deign to attend the House to lend an ear to the leader of the Opposition? To date, his record shows him as indifferent not only to the political opposition but also to in-house opinion. It is to be hoped that his perception of cross-section includes victims of his late agent-general in Sindh, the Jam, whose single-minded ferocity has brought this surpassing embarrassment to Pakistan—the handing over of a whole province to the army. And if he really means to get to the facts, his concepts of cross-section should not be dictated to him by his bureaucratic enclave. And he must make it a point to meet genuine representatives for the minorities in Sindh.

The central irony for the citizen in Islamabad is that while the seat of the government of Pakistan is in this city, most of the action is elsewhere. Railway trains are under bandits' rocket attack, passenger buses are looted and the travellers are kidnapped, banks are broken into and robbed at will by hoodlums, murderers kill and unfailingly make good their escape. Pajeros, overflowing with criminals and kalashnikovs just vanish into thin air. With the President literally working overtime and the Prime Minister at peace with himself and with this tormented country, what the average citizen is watching and listening to adds up to a bewildering scenario. What does Premier Nawaz Sharif make of it all? Apparently, he takes it in his stride, as just one of those things.

Sindh Press Critical

92AS1100H Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
8 Jun 92 p 4

[Article by Azizur Rehman Bughio: "Victimisation of Political Parties Feared"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Army operation in Sindh continues to be debated in the Sindhi press which is sceptical and suspicious to accept its declared objectives. At the very start of the action, the reported arrest and release of Muhajir Qaumi Movement supported APMO [All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization] leaders and their demand for confining the operation to rural areas only, have added an element of doubts to the official intentions in this regard, rendering the whole exercise as partial.

Maintaining that in this situation of hardships and concern caused by the dacoits, the general masses in Sindh have blindly accepted the Army operation, the daily JAGO (2/6) does not ignore contradictory stand taken by political parties, namely "that the operation is designed to perpetuate Sindh's slavery because if the action had been against the criminals and terrorists, they would not have been given enough time to flee the field." According to the paper, "in the absence of the dacoits in the forest, the political parties would be the ultimate victims, as the political government has been doing since 6th August, 1990."

Besides, the paper argues that the 'fame' of the Agencies in this province has rendered the Army operation suspicious "who made and conducted an ethnic organisation, finally leading it to the corridors of power." The paper believes that these Agencies also planted their men into Sindhi nationalists to create distification for ethnic disturbances and sow seed of mutual conflict. The paper alleges that these 'Agencies must have been instrumental in arranging distribution of Wah Ordnance Factory-made bombs in Sindh.' "This was done to compel the Sindhis to abandon their joint obstinacy on the issue of ballot but since they do not give in, an operation is under-way to punish them," complains the paper.

Even if it is assumed that the operation is good-intentioned, the paper refuses to accept it as a final

remedy of the problems of Sindh which are of political and economic origin. The paper doubts if the operation would protect the common-man against rampant social injustice, against cruelties of the police, delayed justice from courts and prevalent legal system, devastations brought by the revenue administration and the hypocrisies of the Wadero who is destined to represent the poor rural population, inspite of contrary and conflictory interests of the two.

These evils, according to the paper, are created by the continued un-representative governments, causing political vacuum.

In his weekly column, titled 'Sindh case' published by JAGO in the same issue, Anwar Pirzado feels astonished at the manner in which the dacoits have been organised during the last 10 years with ensured supply of such modern weapons in the forests, as are unknown even to high officials in the Sindh Police.

He says another important question relates to the fact that the Muhajirs have been living in Sindh since 1947. "But so long as they were not organised into MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] till 1986, they had been learning to live with Sindhis in an atmosphere of peace." Outside cities in the interior, the Muhajirs understood Sindhi language and had started sending their children to Sindhi schools. Even inter-marriages had begun writes Mr. Pirzado.

He believes that the calamity of dacoits and terrorists has been deliberately imposed on Sindh under a well-thought-out scheme which is a great injustice to this Province. Mr. Pirzado fears large scale violation of human rights during the Army operation and urges Sindh Democrats Group to monitor the threatened violations for raising Sindh case before the world, at later stage.

Commenting on MQMs hue and cry against Army operation, the AWAMI-AWAZ (2/6) editorially holds the Muhajirs responsible for the present unfortunate state of affairs in this province, and fails to understand their fear from a government in which they are equal partners. The paper observes that this paradoxical position should open the eyes of the Muhajirs who would enjoy permanent peace and happiness only when they learn to share them with the Sindhis with whom they have to live and die together.

The paper attributes the problems and hardships of the Muhajirs to their failure to appreciate unalterable historical realities and their blind advancement on a journey of life against its natural flow.

The paper maintains that no one is against them and their struggle to realise their rights as residents of Sindh like other local people. They should only recognise the rights of Sindhis and desist from biting those who helped them to settle and feel secure in that province, advises the paper.

The HILAL-I-PAKISTAN (3/6) has expressed concern and disapproval of what it describes as unbecoming behaviour of MQM over the issue of APMSO leaders' arrests following location of illegal weapons in their possession. According to the paper, the Muhajir leaders have become so provocative and annoyed on this issue that contrary to their own demand for serious action against dacoits and terrorists in the province, they have started viewing Army operation with suspicion. The paper feels that far from it, as partners in the JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] government at the federal as well as provincial level, they have greater responsibility to own and support measures taken to eradicate the criminals from the society. The paper hopes that the COAS [Chief of Army Staff], Gen. Asif Nawaz would instruct the conductors of the Army operation not to be brow-beaten by these tactics of MQM designed to protect their terrorists and criminals.

Yet, another aspect of MQM allegedly to intimidate the press into surrender, has come under editorial accountability by the JAGO (3/6) which has taken this ethnic group to task for its reported attack on the office of and threats to Mr. G. N. Moghul, Hyderabad bureau chief of the Frontier Post, whose only fault was to voice the views expressed by the dissident group of MQM. The paper accuses Muhajir Qaumi Movement of having victimised the print media before also for not toeing their line and thinks that this ethnic group which shares power with IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government feels encouraged by no less a personality than the Prime Minister who has repeatedly threatened the national press for what is termed as undue criticism of the government's performance.

Referring to the disclosure at a press conference by WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] Chairman that all the provinces have okayed the project of Kalabagh Dam construction and that the Prime Minister has already given a signal to go ahead with the scheme, the AWAMI AWAZ (3/6) considers this untrue and an attempt to by-pass the opposing provinces particularly Sindh which regards the question as an issue of life and death. The paper asks the Sindh Government to clarify the position and "tell the people if she has auctioned away their rights." The paper also objects to the very nature of the disclosure by a government servant like WAPDA Chairman who should be made to resign in view of what he was not supposed to do. This was the responsibility of the Government and the politicians, concludes the paper.

Army Not Prepared

92AS11001 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
31 May 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Politicians in a No-Win Situation"]

[Text] Last Friday, at a wedding reception in Nowshera, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was at his best as the hands-on-chief-executive. Quite forgetting his role as the

symbol of the Federation who must stay above the hurly-burly of politics, he had quite a chat with the press reporters about the deployment of the army in Sindh. Since the Sindh situation had been debated in the National Assembly, the President saw no need to take the country's political leaders into confidence. The army action, as an emergency measure, was aimed at restoring law and order and had no political motives. The President dismissed all questions about the relevance of Article 147 of the Constitution under which the army would be conducting its operations. Those who had any doubts were welcome to take the matter to a court of law. Despite the Presidential dismissal of the question, we must point out that we have a complex constitutional problem on our hands which could have far-reaching effects on the political future of the country.

The President knows that the scope of Article 147 cannot conceivably be extended to justify the wholesale transfer of all the administrative functions of the provincial government in the field of law and order to the armed forces. What would the provincial agencies responsible for the maintenance of law and order be doing for the next six months while the army operation is on? Would the officers of the Home department, the Inspector General of Police and the entire police force be placed under suspension or sent on leave?

Not a bad idea because their presence on the scene would only be an unpleasant hindrance to the jawans in action. The danger is that these people might repair to the woods and join their clients in their hide-outs.

Let's get the facts straight. Article 147 authorises the provincial government to entrust specific functions to the Federal government or to its officers either conditionally or unconditionally, with the consent of the federal government. We know of no notification issued by the Sindh government in which any specific functions have been entrusted to the Federal government. Nor do we know the names of officers to whom many functions have been entrusted with or without any conditions.

It was because of the limited scope of Article 147 that a clause was added to section 131 of the Criminal Procedure Code in 1988 through an ordinance. The ordinance gave the government the "power to use military force for public security and maintenance of law and order." But that ordinance has since lapsed. The government could have moved a Bill in the National Assembly to secure necessary powers to send the armed forces into action in Sindh to assist the provincial government in the maintenance of peace and public security. Considering the alacrity with which the Assembly passed the Bills relating to the pay and privileges of its members, it should not have taken it too long to pass the required legislation. Why was this not done? Because, the President can always issue an ordinance, as was done in 1988, to confer upon the government whatever powers he likes once the Assembly session is over. We must put it in on record that all this wheeling-dealing is being done with the knowledge and approval of the President of Pakistan.

The armed forces are not trained to round up pick-pockets, thieves, kidnappers and robbers. They can come to the assistance of the civil administration to disperse an unlawful assembly engaged in agitation and rioting. It is not part of their profession to study the pedigree of dacoits, the background and influence of their patrons or the finer points of their special skills. All that an army unit can do is to identify and seal off target areas and seize or eliminate whosoever violates its orders. This can be done only if the army is provided with full legal authority and legal immunity to carry out a specific job on behalf of the civil administration in a fair and fearless manner.

It is not difficult to forecast what will happen in the next few weeks. The army will find itself handicapped in a variety of ways and seek greater autonomy for its operations. The provincial government which is in a state of shock at the moment will find itself completely isolated. In the meantime members of the Sindh Assembly will have shouted themselves hoarse and the only way to silence them would be to dissolve the Assembly. Article 245 of the Constitution would then be invoked.

The armed forces under the Federal government will assume full control and the Sindh High Court shall cease to exercise any jurisdiction under Article 199 in relation to any area in which the army is acting in aid of civil power. Assuming the army operates in a completely non-partisan manner, it may be able to control the law and order situation but by then the IJI government would have lost the support of the MQM and most of the Sindhi members in the National Assembly. The ground would then be ripe for the extension of army control over other unruly areas in the country. If the army action is seen as partisan and discriminatory by the average Sindhi in the interior of the province, the consequences could be calamitous for the country. We don't have to spell out how the situation would be exploited by our predatory neighbour.

The politicians have put themselves in a no-win situation. If the Sindh operation fails they would be engulfed by the ensuing chaos, and if it succeeds they would become totally irrelevant and dispensable.

Presidential Rule Necessary

92AS1100J Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
31 May 92 p 6

[Article by Mohammad Aslam Shah: "The Option in Sindh"]

[Text] The recent decision of the Government to employ Mehran Rangers, a part of the para-military set-up, under the operational command of HQ Army Corps with a view to controlling the law and order situation, has certain serious implications of national importance. The ball may bounce in a peculiar way if a purely political problem within the territory of our own country is combated through professionalism of a military agency. This strategy may not be able to harmonize the political

and military actions to produce the desired effects in controlling the internal law and order situation.

The environments in Sindh should be studied in relation to the intense geo-political activities occurring in Central Asia, Middle East and the sub-continent. With the demolition of communism, perceptible efforts can be noticed to prevent the ideology of Islam, having the potential of immense persuasive strength, to fill the vacuum. It is only then that the world can continue to be dominated by a unipolar force. Pakistan, an ideological state has already demonstrated the capability of radiating successfully the waves energized by the power of Islam. This country should therefore be one of these Muslim states which might be kept in a state of instability and political turmoil to deny her the freedom of manoeuvre in global affairs.

The political objective behind the terrorist activities in Sindh is to break the law and order structure to an extent that people lose faith in the government in power. This objective has remained unchanged from the days of Martial Law to the present time. The aim is to involve maximum agencies of the state and create a quagmire effect so that the country's strengthening infrastructure remains weak diplomatically, socially, psychologically and economically. Efforts of the negative forces have always been to involve the Armed Forces, firstly, to politicize them and, secondly, to reduce their professional efficiency.

The recent involvement of the Army is not a new factor. It has been used in the 1980s under the Martial Law government equipped with absolute power but the situation could not be controlled. History is replete with examples showing that use of Armed Forces to quell internal disorder has never produced conducive results. As a principle the military should never be used in a counter-violence role in internal situations. If at all it is used, it should be in a very limited time and space framework and that too under the close control of a political coordination. The Army was used in East Pakistan and Balochistan and what was the end result? The happenings in East Punjab and Kashmir are current examples. A dispassionate study of the above examples would nullify the argument of the new planners that they would not repeat the old mistakes while fighting the current problem. The Armed Forces, when employed in any form, initiate a chain reaction which generally gets out of control politically. There may also be a snowball effect with its own consequences.

The current state in Sindh has certain characteristics which need to be identified. The roots of disorder lie in the struggle between the groups of the powerful and downtrodden. The socio-economic conditions in a Wadera-controlled bureaucracy that dominated society, resulted in the inevitable struggle from less privileged and deprived people who formed the majority. The issue did not get commensurate treatment and it worsened in intensity with the passage of time. Exploiters, internal

and external, took notice of the discontent and entered the scene to gain their own advantages.

It may be seen that the disturbances have absolutely no ideological base despite the fact that they have been given the colouring of ethnic, political, linguistic differences etc. The population is not struggling for independence. It is basically a socio-economic problem which is being used by internal and external pressure groups. It therefore needs a purely political solution under a dedicated, unbiased elected government. Violence will lead to further violence where a political effort will always operate under disadvantage.

In the past, sealing of borders, combing of jungles along the Indus River, getting hold of influential protectors without political considerations have failed and may not entirely succeed now. Political and professional considerations of the military may also get into conflict. At times these become irreconcilable particularly when the employment of the Armed Forces extends over longer periods.

The environments in the region as well as in Pakistan necessitate that the challenge be met by healthy democratic means without the prolonged and independent involvement of the Forces in matters of provincial jurisdiction. This is necessary for internal and external stability. The only option in Sindh at present appears to be Presidential rule in the Province, holding early elections under a completely neutral body as agreed by consensus of political parties, and letting the new government deal with the situation. In case this also fails to produce results, the election process may again be repeated.

Long term stability can only be achieved by a popularly elected government.

If time is lost and a force-dominated strategy is adopted to correct the situation, the struggle may well spill over the geographical as well as ideological frontiers.

Ethnic Alienation Deep

92AS1100K Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
7 Jun 92 p 7

[Article by Hazoor Ahmed Shah: "God Save Sindh"]

[Text] Pressing the Army into action, even though in consonance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, is evidently a risky proposition just as politicising a human problem is detrimental to national cohesion and solidarity.

So, now that the die is cast and Operation Clean-up has been launched under Article 147 of the Constitution in aid of the civil administration, the political parties/groups owe it to the harassed and frustrated people of Sindh to help make the Army action a success. For, otherwise, the outcome would not only prove to be an excruciating experience to the local people, but would cut at the roots of overall unity and integrity.

The point to emphasise is that Sindh's problem is not merely a law and order one requiring to restore the provincial government's writ; it is primarily a human problem infested with political alienation, ethnic divide, economic depredation and social imbalances.

Deterioration in law and order is not of recent origin, nor has it been further aggravated with the high-profit kidnapping of the Aga Khan's representative in Pakistan. Rightly or wrongly the impression has gained ground among all Sindhis that they are not being given their due in the national assets and that they are made to submit to the federal authority in whose services they have little representation. They feel let down at the idea that it is the Sindh government leaders who have to be summoned to Islamabad, while the Prime Minister and his colleagues hardly come over to Sindh's interior to meet them and tackle their problems on the spot.

Another feeling among the village folks is that since the MRD's [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] 1983 pro-democracy movement they are being "systematically punished." It was then that the activists among them were dubbed as "dacoits" and dealt with severely. It was then that since the people of urban areas remained on the sidelines that ethnic polarisation and the rural-urban divide began to set in Sindh's body-politic.

Thus, the ground situation became fertile for the lawless and anti-social elements to step in. Professional dacoits, connived at by the corrupt law enforcers and encouraged by the self-seeking feudal overlords, started ruling the roost. The hapless people finally got sandwiched between the dacoits and the corrupt law enforcers.

No eyebrows were raised by the bigwigs when the common man were bearing the brunt of ethnic rivalry and police killings. But when it came to kidnapping for ransom and the attack on the upper class sources of income that a hue and cry was raised, the situation from their point of view got alarming and the corridors of power were roused to act to restore the government's writ.

This scribe has the advantage of having done spot coverage of unfortunate events emerging from the MRD's 1983 movement and can claim safely that Sindh, including Karachi, had been by design made a target for the perpetuation of the past dictatorial regime. So, unless the clock is reversed and, side by side with the Army's anti-dacoit-cum-saboteur action, the pacification process is started with equal vigour, Sindh's basically human problem cannot hope to be resolved for good.

That is why Benazir Bhutto has forewarned that there being a "mini-insurgency" in Sindh, the Army action "in isolation" would not be able to deliver the goods. "The issue," she emphasised, "requires a package solution which includes the restoration of the rights of the people along with their welfare programme and pacification of their sense of deprivation."

Her demand for fresh polls in the present circumstances may not be able to be met, but certainly a beginning ought to be made towards giving adequate representation to the Sindhis in the federal and provincial jobs and in embarking on a province-wide social welfare and economic development programmes to instill a sense of participation among them.

The identity of the Sindhi-speaking Sindhis, which they feel has been overshadowed, needs to be restored. As for the Urdu-speaking Sindhis (who for identification purposes insist that they are Mohajirs) their genuine problems should be attended to and their grievances redressed. For, while Sindh is the homeland of the Sindhi-speaking Sindhis, the Mohajirs too have a legitimate claim to it because Sindh is where they are born to die and live as equal citizens.

Along with the settlers from upcountry, the two major communities of Sindh—the Sindhi-speaking and Urdu-speaking—have to live together, as in the past, like brothers. Together, the mass of exploited people among them should join hands in warding off the machinations of the feudal overlords and the intrusion in their affairs by the elite class entrenched in Islamabad's corridors of power.

It is good the President has been to Karachi and talked open-heartedly to the Sindh legislators the other day. It is good the Prime Minister will be undertaking a meet-the-people tour of Sindh, particularly its interior. The Sindhis need to be reassured that it is to their common good that Operation Clean-up has been launched and that the Army action is solely intended to weed out lawless and anti-social elements from their midst and enable them to live a secure and honourable life.

Consistent with Operation Clean-up's broad objectives, the civic administration in whose aid the Army has stepped in, needs to be thoroughly overhauled and corrupt elements therein weeded out. The vicious chain of collusion between the Waderas, the Patharidars the self-seeking bureaucrats and the corrupt law enforcers must be broken along with the rooting out of the dacoit menace from Sindh.

The first few weeks of how the army action gets along and what pacification and confidence-building measures are taken, will matter. With the beginning well done, the end-result will, for all of us—the government, the people and the political parties/groups—be something to be worth cheering.

Editorials Criticize Military Deployment in Sindh

Military Rule Possible

92AS1110A Lahore ZINDGI in Urdu 5 Jun 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Military Action in Sindh"]

[Text] The deployment of the military continues in Sindh. Soldiers are spread throughout at every district

and subdivision level. It was announced that action will be taken against robbers and instigators, that law and order would be established, and that the riots would be crushed. There is no doubt that the situation is getting worse and worse. Even the patrons of the robbers and instigators are not safe from them. Major landlords are afraid to visit their lands. No one's life is safe, and neither is their dignity. Different groups and people blame each other for this situation. Some blame General Ziaul Haq's martial law, while others go back to the Bhutto government. One says the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] started this fire, and blames it for making politics bloody. Someone else blames it on al-Zulfikar. Some blame the extremists within the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], and still others call the Jiye Sindh a party of terrorists.

Everyone has his own reason, his own cause, and his own analysis. However, the ugly phase that has emerged cannot be ignored. There is no doubt that the civilian administration has failed badly. Various racial and ethnic groups have caused problems within it. The protectors of robbers and instigators are also present here. There are many who receive their share of booty to provide protection, and it is not difficult to find the supporters of these instigators. The role of India's agents is also clear. They are present at every level and are active everywhere. They are pushing the situation to an extreme, where "the patient is left to prayer only."

Under these circumstances, if the situation can be alleviated by use of the military, then so be it. Our defense cannot be strengthened without first having stability at home. Taking care of the instigators inside the country is no less important than fighting the enemies at the border. In fact, it is even more important. The real question here is: How can we give responsibility to the military, and in which way, and under what restrictions? If, without political support, the military is pushed into the desert, then we should know that because of negative propaganda and rumors, it will only lose face. The political opponents of our government in Sindh are not weak. Their political foundation is very strong and widespread. Action taken without thinking can cause a rift among even the supporters of our government. At this time, it is important and difficult to take action against "the rotten eggs that the hen is hiding under her wings." In this situation, making progress on the basis of desire only is not possible. After being insulted by the robbers, one cannot claim victory by military action. If we pay attention to the statements issued by our leaders, we will note that nobody is speaking in harmony. The home minister is saying one thing, while the defense minister is saying something else. The chief minister of Sindh is saying yet another thing. Nobody agrees on anything. The home minister has informed us that the military was being called under Pakistan Penal Code 131-A. A newspaper report said that such a penal code does not even exist. This number was used under a 1988 ordinance, and it was never approved by the National Assembly. Therefore, this penal code just does not exist in our legal books.

It is important that we should plan, keeping in view all dangers and fears. We must increase political support as much as possible. The opponents must be taken into confidence. Keeping in view various constitutional restrictions, we must take steps with great prudence. The practice of going one step ahead, two back, two ahead, three back, and so on, must be stopped. It should be remembered that a half-finished project can be very dangerous and can have far-reaching negative results. After a patient is prepared for surgery, he should not be left in the operating theater. Stopping in the middle of an operation because of indecision can be far more dangerous than not operating at all. Our leaders should read at least our history, if not world history, and learn from it. We should remember that good will and nice words are not enough to grow flowers in a desert.

Success Unlikely

92AS1110B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 May 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Sindh Operation and Doubts"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has expressed his determination to go on with the military action in Sindh, and he is not about to change this decision. After his return from the United States of America and London, and while talking to newsmen in Parliament House, he said that the decision about Sindh was on principle, and that the government would not compromise on principles. He also made it clear that if any landlord or influential person tried to hinder any efforts against terrorists, instigators, robbers, and those who attacked trains, they would be treated as a professional criminal.

Given the determination and courage the prime minister has shown in making this decision, if this plan is implemented with the same zeal, there is no doubt that the situation in Sindh will improve. The way that the state has been deteriorating demands that this military operation be implemented immediately for effective results. In this context, in spite of repeated assurances and declarations by the prime minister, the people are expressing doubts and skepticism. The reason for this is that the campaign against illegal weapons and adulteration failed badly. Therefore, when the people say that this military campaign might meet the same fate, we have to agree with them.

Doubt is also being expressed that the prime minister does not want to launch this operation because he might make some political friends and parties angry. It is said that he will take some steps after discussing the issue with them and listening to their ideas. In such a situation, the goal for which this campaign was started will never be attained. The people remember well what happened when during martial law, Sindh's then-Chief Minister Ghaush Ali Shah started "Operation Cleanup" to clean up the notorious drugs and weapons center at Suhrah Goth. The troublemakers and antisocial elements decided to exact revenge on the government, causing a major law and order problem and started a

massacre by attacking many parts of the city. This resulted in the murder of hundreds of innocent citizens. Therefore, if the operation in Sindh is implemented without proper planning, then there is a lot of danger of similar results. In any case, may God help so that law and order and peace is established in Sindh, and terrorism and instigation is ended, so that the people feel safe.

Action Not Enough

92AS1110C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
1 Jun 92 p 10

Editorial: "Sindh Operation: Additional Steps Needed")

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told newsmen in his chamber, after the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) parliamentary party session, that interference in Sindh is being created by elements from across the border.

There is proof of terrorism and instigatory acts in Pakistan, and there are also empirical proofs that these elements get training abroad. We have informed India about this situation, and have also brought it to the attention of the United Nations. Meanwhile, 50 foreign diplomats and ambassadors were briefed about Operation Sindh in the foreign ministry. We cannot say what will result from the operation, which was launched after a lot of thinking and planning, at this time, because the government has adopted the policy of not keeping all information related to this operation confidential in order to attack the robbers and instigators without warning. We do not expect these elements to sit quietly and wait for the agencies responsible for implementing law and order to show up. They must have taken steps either to be free or to implement a strategy to avoid being arrested. But let us let bygones be bygones. It is important now that the government follow up on its plans and, without being pressured by any politician, bring this operation to its proposed goal. It must arrest or punish foreign agents and their lackeys, whether they are acting as instigators or are destroying the peace of the Sindh people in the guise of robbers.

The prime minister has also mentioned India's interfering and providing training facilities to the instigators. India has been involved in making trouble for us for a long time. It was successful in its goal by carrying out similar activities in East Pakistan. Now it wants to stage a similar drama in Sindh. However, the patriotic citizens of Sindh understand this conspiracy very well, and they have repeatedly announced their intention of supporting Pakistan. However, if there is even a minor negligence in carrying out this military operation, then the disappointed elements in Sindh would not stop making it an issue at India's insistence. We would be in great trouble if this happened. Therefore, the government's actions to take the legislature in its confidence, and to brief the

foreign diplomats are very timely. We hope that our foreign ministry was successful in informing the foreign diplomats about its stand and in detailing its planned action. We can expect all kinds of activities from India, as it is a very sly and tricky enemy. Our foreign ministry should not be satisfied with just telling the other agencies that since India has been informed of this whole situation, they should avoid involving themselves in any anti-India propaganda or hatching a plan against it. We should keep our eyes and ears open and should keep the U.S. State Department's report, in which the possibility of an India-Pakistan war in June or July was expressed, in mind.

Every law-abiding person in Sindh is fed up with the activities of instigators and robbers. They have been appealing to the state and federal governments to take strict action against these elements. Just like in any other part of our country the landlords, pirs, mirs, and politicians are so influential in Sindh that they give the people the wrong picture of the situation, thereby misleading them. They can also refer to the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] campaign of 1983, and start negative propaganda against this military operation. Therefore, we are repeatedly telling in this column that the way the Parliament has been taken into confidence and with the way the whole situation was explained to foreign diplomats, the influential people of Sindh should also be taken into confidence. They should be told that the military actions will be implemented objectively and without attention to any ethnic, racial, or political groups. What is wrong with briefing and appealing for support of Mrs. Benazir, Pir Pagara, Jatoti, Junejo, Pir Hala, the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], the People's Party, Jamaat-i Islami, and Jumiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan, as well as other leaders? It would be a good idea to televise such a briefing meeting, so that no one would have an opportunity to start negative propaganda. If an politician tried to grind his political axe, then the people themselves would take care of him. Why are these leaders and groups being ignored?

The Indian Government recently called a conference of political leaders to discuss the Kashmir issue to get their support this way. Why do not we take patriotic politicians and influential people and families and explain to them India's actions? This is not just Sindh's problem, and the government alone cannot take care of it. In order to make the Indian Government propaganda useless and to unmask the robbers and instigators and their protectors in Sindh, the more people are involved in helping the government, the better it would be for us. This way, at least political differences will not hinder a resolution of this problem. The prime minister has said that this military operation must continue until its goal is attained. However, it should be implemented in a short time, so that Pakistani soldiers are released from this duty and are able to pay attention to their real duty of protecting Pakistan's borders.

Sindh Budget Outlined, Details Given

92451101C Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 92 p 1

[Article by M. Sabihuddin Ghausi]

[Text] Karachi, May 27—Sindh Finance Minister Liaquat Ali Jatoi presented on Wednesday a Rupees 26.75 billion budget for 1992-93 which indicates a revenue surplus of Rupees 1.61 billion and provides relief to the fishermen by way of abolishing the licence fees.

In his budget speech delivered on the floor of Sindh Assembly, Mr Jatoi said that for the second consecutive year he was presenting a revenue surplus budget mainly because of increase in inflow of funds from the federal government after the announcement of the National Finance Commission award early last year.

For the next financial year, he said, the total current expenditure has been estimated at Rupees 21.75 billion against the projected receipts of Rupees 23.36 billion, leaving a revenue surplus of Rupees 1.61 billion.

The revenue surplus, he said, would be utilised to finance the ADP (Annual Development Program) involving a total outlay of Rupees 5 billion. The substantial funds for ADP would come as cash development loan from the Federal government amounting to Rupees 3.02 billion. The 1992-93 ADP indicates an operational shortfall of over Rupees 371 million, which the Minister said would be met entirely by adopting austerity measures in the nondevelopment expenditure budget.

The Federal government's commitment of Rupees 3.02 billion development cash loan indicates a cut of almost Rupees 380 million from the original pledge of Rupees 3.39 billion made in the documents of the Federal budget released on May 14 last.

While the Minister claimed that the 1992-93 ADP at Rupees 5 billion was 12.5 per cent higher than the 1991-92 ADP, the budget documents he released on Wednesday showed that after revision, the 1991-92 ADP amounted to Rupees 5.88 billion. The 1992-93 ADP is therefore lesser than 1991-92 ADP.

As the Minister announced certain fiscal concessions, including the abolition of licence fees on fishermen and reduction of entertainment tax on cinema ticket to 55 paise on a rupee from 75 paise on a rupee, the Opposition members demanded the copy of the finance bill.

"We will provide the details of the measures announced today on the floor of the House but not included in the speech, on Saturday promised Mr Liaquat Jatoi.

Despite a substantial rise of over Rupees 1.2 billion in the provincial receipts during the next fiscal year, the Minister did not announce any increase in rate of the existing taxes or duties indicating that no fresh levy has been made and the Sindh government intends to raise Rupees 6.12 billion from the existing resources.

Mr Jatoi also tabled the supplementary statement of expenditure for the current outgoing fiscal year of 1991-92 amounting to Rupees 649 million which, he explained, was due to inevitable and unavoidable unforeseen expenditure outside the budget.

He said the total revenue expenditure in 1991-92 increased from the original estimate of Rupees 19.09 billion to Rupees 19.75 billion which he mainly attributed to the "outside the budget expenditure incurred on heavy purchases to enhance the effectiveness and mobility of police and to equip educational institutions, hospitals and agricultural research wing with modern equipment."

While outlining some of the steps, the provincial government intends to take in the next fiscal year, Mr. Jatoi announced, the Rural Compensatory Allowance of Rupees 1,000 for male doctors and Rupees 1,500 for lady doctors to be posted in the villages. He pointed out that these incentives were being offered to the doctors to motivate them to serve the rural population of the country.

He also announced the creation of 1,000 additional posts of doctors in the next fiscal year.

While referring to the "grave and gruesome problem of unemployment," the Minister vaguely pointed out the "creation of a large number of posts in various pay-scales" but did not make any reference to the promise he made on June 6 last year for creating 50,000 additional jobs.

He, however, said that his commitment to provide Rupees 25 million for the self-employment generation scheme had been met.

He also recalled the promise made by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to give a grant of Rupees 7.15 billion for improving the transport system in Karachi and other urban centres of the province and told the members "the Federal Government is being pursued for the release of these funds."

He also referred to the Tameer-i-Sindh programme for which the Prime Minister had pledged a sum of Rupees 10 billion but did not give any detail of the funds released so far by Islamabad. The 1991-92 Federal Budget document has shown an allocation of Rupees 1.5 billion for Tameer-i-Sindh programme which was announced by Mr Jatoi on June 6.

A casual reference was also made on the launching of three years Social Action Programme (SAP) from 1992-93 but the Minister revealed the allocation made by Sindh Government amounting to Rupees 267 million only and no details were given about health and other sectors.

The Rupees 20.50 billion revenue expenditure budget presented by Mr. Jatoi showed the highest allocation of Rupees 7.24 billion for social services, Rupees 2.36 billion for law and order and Rupees 5.81 billion for

servicing the Federal Government loans. A sum of Rupees 2.07 billion has been provided for economic services, Rupees 1.44 billion on general administration and Rupees 702 million for subsidies.

Sindh Budget at a Glance

	RS.
Total size of the budget	26,748 million
Total Expenditure	21,748.1 million
Total ADP	5,000.00 million
Receipts:	
1. Federal Receipts	17,189.3 million
2. Provincial Receipts	6,167.3 million
Total receipts	23,356.6 million
Expenditure:	
1. Current Revenue expenditure	20,501.8 million
2. Current Capital expenditure	1,246.3 million
Total Expenditure	21,748.1 million
Financing of the ADP of 5,000.00 million	
1. Provincial contribution from revenue surplus	1,868.5 million
2. Federal cash loan	3,020,426 million
3. Operational shortfall in the ADP	371,074 million
Total size of the 1992-93 Sindh ADP	5,000 million
Financing of the ADP	
1. Sindh Government's contribution from revenue budget surplus	1.61 billion
2. Development cash loan from the Federal government	3.02 billion
3. Operational shortfall	371 million

Highlights

The following are the other highlights of the Sindh Budget 1992-93

- Rupees 10 million grant to CPLC [expansion not given] to enable it to set up centres at Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana.
- Rupees 0.5 million grant to Hadrat Mohani Trust.
- Rupees one million for the Artists Foundation.
- Funds for Police Training Academy on Canadian pattern.
- Funds for Revenue Officers Academy.
- Foundation for Sindh Government Employees under which self-financing housing scheme on easy instalment will be launched.
- Upward revision of the rates of reimbursement of Group Insurance to the legal heirs of government servants in BPS 15 and above.
- Block allocation for a new Sindh Assembly Hall under Tameer-i-Sindh Programme within the precincts of the existing Assembly Hall.
- Rupees 20 million grant for Urology and Kidney Transplantation Institute, in addition to the ADP allocation.
- Block allocation for Cancer institute at Karachi and T.B. hospital at Sehwan.
- Launching of the three-year Social Action Programme from 1992-93 which includes over Rupees 1,069 billion for education (Sindh's share Rupees 267.35 million and balance to be contributed by federal government donor agencies).
- Launching of Rupees 4,273.89 million Sindh Primary Education Programme and Rupees 365.693 million Girls Primary Education Programme from 1992-93.
- Rupees 10 billion pledged for Tameer-i-Sindh Programme and board already constituted for this purpose.
- Rupees 425 million grant already released to local bodies in Sindh on release of funds on the directives of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and fresh grant in 1992-93 from the provincial ADP.
- 6,000 new housing units in Hyderabad and several other projects included in ADP for other parts of the province under Physical Planning and Housing.
- 20 per cent higher allocation for irrigation sector to improve water availability and growth in agriculture.
- Adequate allocation for rural electrification under the Tameer-i-Sindh Programme in addition to 500 villages being electrified by the WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority].
- Funds for the Sindh Language Authority, and Rupees three million provision for the establishment of Department of Archaeology.
- Record land revenue and other tax receipts by BMR [expansion not given] during 1991-92 and disposal of 144,423 acres of land to 13,850 landless peasants besides leased land (40,799 acres) among 4,241 Harris generating over Rupees 23.28 million.
- Zakat assistance was provided to the tune of Rupees 187.74 million covering 4,50,000 [as published] Mus-tahiqen.
- A rehabilitation centre for mentally handicapped children and socio-economic centre will be set up at Mair.

- 10 women welfare centres will be established during the next financial year at a cost of Rupees 3.750 million.
- A full-fledged modern cancer treatment centre will be built in Karachi to enable those who cannot go abroad for treatment.
- A grant in aid of Rupees 20 million is being made for the Institute of Urology and Kidney Transplantation headed by Prof Adib Rizvi.
- Licence fee for fishermen has been lifted.
- Police Training Academy is proposed to be built near Petaro.
- A full-fledged modern facility for maternity and child care will be made available in Umarkot.—APP

Sindh Budget Deficiencies Called 'Painfully Evident'

92AS1101F Karachi DAWN in English 29 May 92 p 4

[Editorial: "The Sindh Budget"]

[Text] The National Finance Commission [NFC] Award has contributed to a tremendous improvement in the state of provincial finances. One finds this amply reflected in the Sindh budget for 1992-93, presented to the Assembly on Wednesday. The 26.75-billion-rupee expenditure will be financed to the extent of 77 per cent from Federal assignments (17.19 billion rupees) and development cash loans (3.02 billion rupees). Following the NFC Award, Federal assignments rose by 53 per cent. Because of the elasticity of taxes in the Federal Divisible Pool, the Award holds promise of a continuing increase in receipts for provinces in the future. During the second year of the Award, receipts from this source are expected to rise by 14.7 per cent, compared with the original assignments of the current year. Provincial tax revenues are small and have remained stagnant over a long period mainly because feudal lords, who have ruled the province since independence, have seen to it that their incomes and properties remain exempt from all taxes. The provincial government's total revenue receipts account for only two billion rupees, of which direct tax receipts of the province, including land revenue, constitute only 1.8 per cent.

On the expenditure side, one cannot say a judicious use is being made of the additional resources available. There has been a quantum jump in current spending following the Award. Of the 53 per cent increase, two-thirds went into current expenditure and only one-third was devoted to development on both current and capital accounts. The ADP continues to depend largely on federal loans—to the extent of 60 per cent. Since the provincial development programme has, according to the constitutional division of subjects, to be directed towards public welfare, expenditure on the relevant

projects cannot be directly remunerative. All loans utilised in this sphere will have to be paid back by the province from its current revenues. As at present, debt servicing constitutes about 24 per cent of the total current expenditure. There is immense scope for effecting economy in current expenditure and allocating more resources for development.

Although the highest state dignitaries have been telling the people throughout the year that the law and order situation in the province has been improving, the fact is quite the opposite. The revised estimates now confirm this. Under this head, more than a 100 per cent increase over the original estimates has been registered. Against an allocation of 1.7 billion rupees, the expenditure is estimated to have reached 2.76 billion rupees and by the end of June, it may go still higher. Directly related to law and order is the prospect of investment. The province which was the most industrially advanced until about a decade ago has now fallen behind. As the turmoil here is rooted partly in political polarisation, the opportunity for a rapprochement has been missed after the unanimous election of the present Chief Executive of the province. For the forthcoming financial year, the expenditure under law and order at 2.36 billion rupees seems to have been grossly underestimated.

One more item of expenditure deserves special mention. While the maintenance and running of the irrigation system cost 792 million rupees in the current year, it yielded a total revenue of 375 million rupees. About the same situation is evident from next year's allocation, against an expenditure of 803 million rupees, receipts are estimated at 405 million rupees. Thus, even the running of the system is being heavily subsidised. While user charges of urban utilities are being constantly raised, commodities and services supplied to the landed interests continue to receive increasing subsidies.

With the big jump in income, the social sector, which had remained neglected for a long time, is rightly receiving greater attention. The total allocation for this sector was increased for the current year by 2.32 billion rupees to 7.19 billion rupees, but the amount could not be utilised fully, leaving 690 million rupees unspent (the highest amount of 840 million rupees surprisingly remained unutilised in education). For the next year, there is a slight increase in this sector of 21 million rupees over the budget estimate of the current year. In current and ADP accounts, education and health subsectors have claimed 8.58 billion rupees which is 32 per cent of the total spending. The Finance Minister kept the Assembly in the dark about the physical targets achieved or those fixed for the next year. Similarly, he was silent about his last year's promise to create 50,000 new jobs. Job creation in the public sector may not be too difficult. What is important is that these jobs are really needed and are productive. Mitigation of the problem of unemployment can come about only when private economic activity picks up following the restoration of law and order. The need for acceleration of endeavour in the social sector is immense and the efforts still seem to be

too small. This acceleration may come under the Social Action Programme [SAP], spread over three years, if the donors' pledge of 500 million dollars materialises. They have promised to provide these resources on a matching basis—entirely for primary and secondary education and health.

The budget is deficient in many other ways. It lacks any philosophy which could bind its various components together. It does not address the crucial problem of the urban-rural divide. Karachi's problems have been dealt with very perfunctorily. The absence of any worthwhile scheme for urban or rural Sindh is painfully evident. Proliferation of names for development programmes creates great confusion. An integrated programme proves economical, capable of efficient execution and liable to proper accountability.

NWFP Supplementary Budget Reported

92AS1101B Karachi DAWN in English 25 May 92 p 1

[Text] Peshawar, May 24—Provincial Minister for Finance Planning and Development Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan on Sunday laid before the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assembly supplementary budget estimates for the current year ending June 30, 1992, amounting to Rupees 1,866,994 million which includes additions in the developmental expenditures to the tune of Rupees 1,260,850 million.

The total addition required in the current budget expenditure was Rupees 5,075 million as the revised budgetary estimates are worked out at Rupees 12,737,337 million as against Rupees 12,732,262 million being the approved amount. This figure, the minister said, was still below the expenditure parameter that was fixed by the National Finance Commission 1991.

Interestingly, the Finance Minister, while putting the supplementary grants of the annual development programme at Rupees 1260,850, did not elaborate on what the "balance amount of Rupees 274,427 million" meant according to him to meet various additional liabilities, details of which were given under demands numbering 25, 27, 28 and 29 of the supplementary budget statement placed before the house (but not supplied to the Press).

The Finance Minister, however, said that the supplementary ADP [Annual Development Program] includes Tameer-e-Watan Programme's Rupees 412,740 million, productivity enhancement programme (Agriculture Department) Rupees 126,000 million, population welfare programme Rupees 47,683 million and bridge financing loan to provincial autonomous bodies Rupees 400 million.

The Minister put before the house a total of Rupees 603 million supplementary expenditure under the head "Current Expenditure," of which only Rupees 5,075 he claimed represent real addition. The remaining Rupees 598,767 million including a federal grant worth Rupees

197,742 million will be met through internal savings and adjustments from one hand to the other.

Giving brief details, the Minister told the house that the provincial government had to contribute Rupees 83,500 million as its share for the Police Department to match the Federal Government's Rupees 187,500 million special grant. This effected enhancement in revised estimates to Rupees 1091 million as against Rupees 820 million estimated, he said.

The special fundings were used for the strengthening of the police force by adding 24 new platoons, equipping it with new vehicles, including armoured cars and wireless equipment, etc.

Likewise, an amount of Rupees 71.16 million was provided for the establishment of a new district during the course of the year.

Balochistan Presents Surplus Budget

92AS1101E Karachi DAWN in English 26 May 92 p 1

[Article by Salim Shahid and M. Sahibuddin Ghausi]

[Text] Quetta, May 25—Balochistan Finance Minister Nawab Mohammed Aslam Raisani presented on Monday a total budget of Rupees 11.10 billion for his province for the year 1992-93 indicating a revenue surplus of Rupees 1.53 billion.

In his budget speech delivered on the floor of the Balochistan Assembly, the provincial Finance Minister said the total budget for 1992-93 comprises a revenue expenditure of Rupees 7.54 billion and the Annual Development Programme [ADP] of Rupees 3.56 billion.

As against the estimated revenue expenditure of Rupees 7.54 billion, the province expects total resource availability of Rupees 9.07 billion.

The resultant surplus of Rupees 1.53 billion, he said, would be utilised to finance the Rupees 3.65 billion ADP for 1992-93. For this ADP, he said the Federal Government has committed to provide Rupees 1.58 billion.

He indicated a shortfall of Rupees 545.6 million in the ADP which he said would be met by taking all possible saving measures in the revenue expenditure budget and also in the ADP itself.

The Minister stated that the Balochistan Government expects to increase its revenue base by Rupees 70 million in 1992-93 when total revenue is being estimated at Rupees 385 million as against revenue generation of Rupees 310 million.

However, he did not elaborate whether the increase in the provincial revenue generation during the next fiscal year would [he] made by increasing the rate of taxes and duties or by improving the collection.

In addition to Rupees 385 million to be generated from the provincial resources, Nawab Raisani pointed out

that Balochistan expects the availability of Rupees 1.19 billion as its share in the excise duty and royalty on gas and oil from the Federal Government, Rupees 4.66 billion share in gas surcharge, Rupees 107 million Federal grant.

Balochistan's share in other Federal taxes comes to Rupees 2.85 billion. The total Federal transfers during 1992-93 thus comes to Rupees 8.82 billion.

At the outset of his speech, the Finance Minister informed the Balochistan Assembly members that after the implementation of the National Finance Commission Award, the availability of resources during 1991-92 nearly doubled, which enabled the Balochistan Government to generate a revenue surplus of Rupees 1.63 billion.

He said the provincial government utilised this amount for funding the public welfare programmes and made a reference to the special priority programme launched in 1991-92 for which the schemes were identified by the members of the Balochistan Assembly.

For the next fiscal year, he said the Government would launch a three-year Social Action Programme [SAP] which envisages rapid development in the field of education, health nutrition, rural water supply, sanitation and population welfare. This programme is being launched in 29 parts of the country at a total cost of over Rupees 4 billion.

He said the Balochistan Government would provide 25 per cent of the cost of SAP in the budget while 25 per cent would be provided by the Federal Government. The remaining 50 per cent would be given by the donor countries.

Nawab Raisani announced that the provincial government has provided a sum of Rupees 1.56 billion for education in 1992-93. For the health sector, a sum of Rupees 204 million has been allocated.

Irrigation and Power, he said, is the other vital sector for which a sum of Rupees 760 million has been given in the 1992-93 ADP.

The Minister announced the creation of 4,800 job opportunities during the next fiscal year.

Development Said Neglected in Balochistan Budget

92AS1101G Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Balochistan's Finances"]

[Text] The budget speech of Balochistan's Finance Minister was marked by a measure of realism that is rare. Nawab Raisani displayed full awareness of the problems the largest but the most backward province of Pakistan faces. Hence the emphasis on development activities for the uplift of the masses and the performance of the law

enforcement agencies. The fact is that the state of poverty and deprivation of the Baluch people has reached a stage where its negative impact on the peace and stability of the province has begun to be widely felt. But whether the government in Quetta will manage to bring about the necessary economic and social improvements is open to question. The Rupees 11.2 billion budget for 1992-93 does not provide all the answers.

In the first place, the basic problem of Balochistan—the scarcity of resources—still remains there, the massive increase in the General Tax Assignments and surcharge, excise duty and royalty on gas under the NFC [expansion not given] award notwithstanding. This year the province's revenues registered a massive 175 per cent increase over last year's earnings. But now that the position has stabilised, Balochistan's income will grow by only 11 per cent in 1992-93. The revenue expenditure shows a rise of 15 per cent in the same period. If this trend persists, the nominal surplus the province has now managed to show will soon be wiped out. The surplus is declining, as it is. What has not been explained is the fact that Balochistan received substantially less than what had been estimated in this year's budget as being its share of the Federal Divisible Pool or the surcharge and royalty on Sui gas. Although a bigger amount has been promised for next year, one only hopes that it materialises.

Equally disquieting is Quetta's failure to step up the revenue generated from local sources. Of the total receipts of Rupees 9,213 million for the incoming year, only Rupees 127 million will be accounted for by provincial taxes and more than half of this will come from motor vehicle tax. This inelasticity of the tax base does not depict a very promising state of the provincial economy.

Coming to the expenditure side, which can be quite a mind-boggling job for any finance minister, the budget follows the same pattern as in previous years. The social services are to receive the biggest chunk—30 per cent—of the revenue budget. What is heartening is that education and health are to receive a hefty boost of 23 and 36 per cent, respectively. Another sector whose allocation has been considerably enhanced is law and order, which is understandable. The government's attempt to keep a tab on the expenditure on administration is also to be commended. This head has claimed Rupees 743 million for next year (Rupees 726 million in 1991-92) which is a nominal increase of two per cent. The new phenomenon of a surplus budget has, however, not absolved Quetta of responsibility for the debts which it incurred when the province received very little from Islamabad under the old scheme of things. Its debt servicing expenditure (Rupees 1,650 million) will account for 21 per cent of the current expenditure.

What is disappointing about the Balochistan budget is the low priority accorded to development as compared to the outgoing year. A revenue surplus of Rupees 1,671 million notwithstanding, the Public Sector Development

Programme [PSDP] has been reduced in size by 16 per cent. The PSDP will receive Rupees 3,565 million, the biggest chunk of which will go to the social sector. Along with the newly instituted three-year Social Action Programme, health, education and drinking water should receive considerable attention. But the government's proclaimed policy of providing an infrastructure for agriculture and industry is hardly reflected in the development budget. For instance, the allocation for roads and highways, which form the backbone of communications in the province, has been reduced by nearly 21 per cent to Rupees 613 million for 1992-93. Irrigation works are to receive 41 per cent less, while the industries and mineral sector's allocation has been slashed by 69 per cent. It is not clear how the government plans to generate employment on a long term basis for the educated youth who will pass out of the hundreds of schools to be set up. The government would do well to realise that priorities have to be spelled out and an integrated approach adopted to various areas if development is to be balanced and smooth.

Deficit Spending Seen Harmful to National Development

92AS1053B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 10 May 92 p 11

[Article by Munir Ahmed Sulari: "Deficit Spending"]

[Text] Someone had very rightfully said, "Ashes and diamonds, friends and foes, in the end, all become one." In other words, the rich and the poor meet the same end. The rich are born out of other people's poverty. The rich people and rich countries become rich by devouring the valuable resources of Third World countries. That is how they become rich and industrialized. The devilish system of capitalism is prospering because of the poverty of developing countries. Modern science and technology have also are the property of these wealthy nations. Since 1950, the per capita incomes of industrialized nations have increased threefold, while the poor people of developing countries are now worse off. As science progressed and new methods of production were developed, the seven richest nations in the world emerged. They are now called the Group of Seven. They throw alms of aid to the begging poor nations. These countries also control the World Bank, the IMF, and other international agencies. During the last decade, 43 percent of the developing countries have seen a decline in their income. Among these countries, Bangladesh, Namibia, Ethiopia, Bolivia, Niger, Nigeria, and Afghanistan are prominent. Referring to these nations as "developing" countries is ridiculing them. Third World countries are suffering from the delusion that because of progress in science and higher education, the plagued spots of the world will disappear. They are living in a fool's paradise. This capitalist system has destroyed economic equality under the guise of human individuality. Economic and social action, which are supposedly intended to improve the lifestyle of the people, provide a basic structure that is solidly based on consumer goods. Human individualism is a mental condition that any person can obtain. A free

economy never meant that anything could be obtained without a price. [text illegible.] If medicine that saves human lives is available on the open market but is beyond the purchasing ability of a common man, then the progress of a man or of science does not benefit us. If there is no power of purchase and poor people are leading a derogatory life, then there is no benefit to the present devilish system. The specialty of this system is that the rich and the powerful survive in it, and men collect money by exploiting other men. During the last century, this economic system gave birth to two great wars, and hundreds of small wars were also born out of it. Is it not a merciless joke that if a hungry and naked man from Ethiopia is compared to a rich American and a statement is issued that he survived in this situation? This kind of difference is present not only between the rich and the developing countries, but also between minorities and the privileged classes of developing countries. These groups collect the nation's resources and become rich by squeezing the blood of the poor. They request that the IMF and other agencies give money to reduce their country's budget deficits and proudly declare that this international economic agency has given Pakistan permission to let its budget deficit increase. They announce that the rate of deficit will be 6.6 percent, and during the 1992-93 financial year, the government will increase deficit spending. This way, the government gets special permission to print and issue new currency through banking and loans. According to our resources, during the 1992-93 financial year, our budget will have a deficit of 80 billion rupees. This total deficit will reach 720 billion rupees when we include the present year's deficit. According to the finance minister, the target for reducing the budget deficit could not be met because of an increase in exports, the trade deficit, a reduction in prices, and taxes.

Meanwhile, the IMF has reinstated aid and has given permission for deficit spending. On the first day of the 12th session of the National Assembly, Mr. Gul Hamid Rokari, an IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] assembly member, suddenly presented an amendment to the bill for increasing salaries and benefits of the Parliament members introduced by federal minister Chaudhary Amir Hussain, requesting that members of Parliament be exempted from customs duties and sales taxes when they import cars from abroad. The federal minister opposed this amendment and said that he had not received any information about it. It is important that he be notified of any amendment. However, both the government and opposition branches made a lot of noise and insisted that this privilege be given to them. Chaudhary Amir Hussain accepted this decision with a bowed head ... [text illegible] This was the first time since democracy was established that such cooperation and love was seen between the opposition and the government Parliament members. When this amendment was approved, all the assembly members pounded their desks in celebration of it. The National Assembly members continued to show their agreement and amended the

rules and passed a 32-point agenda within 90 minutes, showing their speed while increasing salaries for the president, prime minister, speaker, deputy speaker, senators, and cabinet members. At this time, when our budget deficit is expected to reach 100 billion rupees, the elected representatives of the people, have burdened the poor with billions of rupees of additional taxes, and who themselves are landlords or businessmen. All this paints a very scary picture. For every rupee the government spends on education and public health, it spends 279 rupees on defense. Because it is a question of our beloved country's security, we cannot comment about this. More than 75.5 million Pakistanis, which is over 55 percent of our total population, do not have access to clean drinking water. Forty-five percent of our total population, or 58.5 million Pakistanis, do not have access to medical assistance. More than 39 million people are spending their lives in abject poverty. Of all children five years old and younger, 16 percent die. More than 52 percent of children under five years of age do not get enough food. The countries that are advanced economically and are industrialized, especially Japan, show that their economic growth lies in the education and training of their people. Japan's progress began with new technology and with the establishment of new educational and training institutions. Education makes people effective and successful and develops character and hard working habits. That is why the Japanese are now very effective in industry and business. In our country, we do not spend as much money on education as we do on the salaries and fringe benefits of our Cabinet and Parliament members. It appears that we are getting worse in this area. During the last fiscal year, we did not make any progress in agriculture, and there was no increase in wheat, sugarcane, or corn production. We have imported food and other items worth \$4.1 billion during the last financial year. This amount is based on eight months of imports. There has been an increase of \$6.1 billion in imports. Total imports in 1990-91 were \$4.9 billion. Our trade deficit is \$2 billion. There can be some other reason for the budget deficit. Deficit spending is not appropriate for a poor country like Pakistan. That is why our rupee has again been devalued, and the increase in prices to keep one alive is backbreaking. [text illegible] It is surprising that there has been a 25-percent increase in developmental projects, and that 32 percent of our total budget is being spent on the payment of interest on foreign debts. These foreign debts weaken and shake up the indebted countries in international markets. Our country and Latin American countries are burdened heavily with these debts. These countries, for the last few decades, have been following this path of self-destruction. The country with the most debts in the world is Brazil. It is followed by developing countries of the Third World. These include Pakistan and India. The greatest reason for the problem in poorer nations is the rich countries. They trap the poorer nations in their debts and make them their followers. These loans in the name of aid actually compromise the independence of the poorer nations. The poor countries spend all their money and lives paying interest. For example, the whole

budget of one country is spent on defense and to pay interest on these debts. Whatever is left is wasted on nondevelopmental tasks and unnecessary expenses. According to one estimate, the Third World countries owe over \$2 trillion. During 1991, about \$10 billion were paid in interest alone to the rich nations. The reason for this is that these rich countries have a monopoly on science research and other technologies. This should be shared by all of humanity. However, the industrialized and wealthy nations are the only ones who benefit from it. As a result, greed, extortion, and monopoly are ruining human society. Because of the system of capitalism, developing countries in the Third World cannot make progress in science and technology. Only a specific group of nations takes advantage of this science and technology. A country like Pakistan cannot get any free time, as it is busy paying interest on the loans it has taken. Science and technology, which are the steps for progress, cannot be advanced in these countries. Wealthy nations grab poorer nations in loans and interest payments. Products from Third World countries have lost value in the markets of industrialized nations. For example, prices of cotton and yarn have fallen in international markets. This has resulted in a decrease in revenue exports. As our finance minister has said, the inflation is 12 percent of our total rate of growth. It is not our bad luck that all this has happened because a minority but extremely privileged class in our country is busy hatching plans and living in luxury.

As mentioned above, the figures about the budget deficit for the next financial year are not only causing concern, but are dangerous. This deficit will exceed 100 billion. There is only one easy way to help reduce the deficit, and that is printing new currency, as the IMF has permitted us to do. However, according to Nawaz Sharif's instructions, ways to increase taxes have been limited. If our Central Board of Revenue collects income tax honestly during the next two years, this whole problem could be resolved. Every third taxpayer has filed an appeal for avoiding payment of taxes or for a reduction in taxes. Meanwhile, the government has given all kinds of privileges and amenities to industrialists to encourage the establishment of new industries. One of the major amenities is the provision of foreign exchange. This includes some reforms and bearer bond schemes. There are now a total of 300 types of bearer bonds. The government is losing tax revenues because of its certificates and dollar bonds issued for earning foreign exchange. Compared to it, nondevelopmental expenses are increasing. In addition, due to nationalization of some industries, additional money is being spent on them. We are wondering what is being done with the money earned from the sale of over 100 government [industrial or trade] units to this date. Our country is not increasing its capital formation while increasing its budget deficit and the prices of commodities. In order to save our national revenue, we must expand the sphere of capital formation. A country's capital depends on national savings. In our country, however, we save the least of all in Asia. The main reason for this is that we are trapped in living from hand

to mouth and there is no money left because of inflation. Our national savings rate is very limited as a result. If a person saves money by being extremely cautious, he does not invest money in government saving schemes, because they pay very little interest. The people are not willing to invest their money with the government at such low rates. The interest paid by various savings schemes does not match the inflation rate. Therefore, the government has to make do by printing new currency notes. It has to pay interest at market rates to the banks it borrows money from. This means that when any new investment scheme is started, it fails because it is planned in a hurry and is usually unsuccessful. One example of this tendency is our government's five-year bonds. Without thinking and because of ignorance of U.S. laws, the money was spent by Pakistani banks. Advertisements were issued in the WALL STREET JOURNAL and the WASHINGTON POST. All of this cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. However, instead of earning foreign currency, we lost what we had invested, and the U.S. Government... [text illegible] The U.S. Government started action against Pakistani banks and ordered an audit of all the files overnight. It also banned the sale of all the bonds. The sale of these bonds by Bank Daulat Pakistan and other Pakistani banks was against the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission regulations. Thus, this whole affair was a total failure, and investigations into it are still going on. The government has been forced to drop this scheme. The most important question now is that of the large-scale deficit spending, which has destroyed our country's economy. The giant of inflation is screaming on one side, while on the other side, the buying power of the rupee exists in name only. What should the government and the people do in such a situation? The economy of our country is in very serious condition. The serious scarcity of energy has halted production growth. Because of corruption and graft, our tax revenue is not increasing. Of the 120 million people living in our country, only 750,000 are paying income taxes. Most of these are salaried people. There are more than 5,000 billionaires in our country, and there are hundreds of thousands of millionaires. We only manage to collect 900 million rupees in income taxes. The unnecessary expenses of our administration are increasing by leaps and bounds. The government will be spending billions to increase the salaries of government and opposition members and double their fringe benefits, such as importing cars without paying customs, excise duty, sales tax, or any surcharge. These landlords and businessmen are putting an unnecessary burden on poor people to help increase expenses on luxury goods by the rich. At present, our government has foreign debts of over 420 billion. Foreign aid has been stopped, and the burden of the national debt is increasing. Our government is not in a position to levy a new tax on agricultural products. Punjab's chief minister mentioned the establishment of an agricultural tax in the Punjab Assembly, and all members, including opposition members, threatened to walk out. They also started talking about a no-confidence motion. Mr. Ghulam Haider Wain had to take back his plan. The World Bank is pressuring our

government to stop subsidies in the agricultural area and to increase irrigation rates. In our country, smuggling has reached dangerous proportions. This has discouraged foreign investors from coming here. In addition, the law-and-order situation in our country is not satisfactory. Foreign investors hesitate to move here. The statements issued by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] about nationalizing industries also scare foreign investors. Against the background, if the government does not take a major step in alleviating this situation, a lot could happen. Therefore, prudence demands that the budget makers cut their suits according to the cloth. If they levy an agriculture tax, then our country will be in a shape to meet its economic challenges.

New Budget Analyzed, Criticized

92AS1053A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 16 May 92 p 5

[Editorial: "New Budget"]

[Text] The federal budget for the 1992-93 year is 292,910,000,000 rupees. This will create a deficit of 65 billion rupees. This deficit is less than that of the last year. Economic and financial experts have been analyzing this budget for several days; however, all politicians outside the government have declared this budget disappointing, dangerous to the people, and totally inappropriate. The prime minister and his associates have called it the poor people's budget. These comments are not unexpected, because whenever a government presents a budget, the opposition necessarily opposes it, and the government necessarily praises it. Perhaps this is a tradition that can never be changed. The basic reason for this is that the expenses of the government are increasing gradually, and it is imposing new taxes to meet those expenses. The poor have to bear the burden of these taxes. The situation in Pakistan is bad. Poor people are so greatly burdened under high prices that they are waiting for the last straw, and their backs could break at any minute.

On the outside, there is no direct tax on the people in the new budget. We know that this will have no immediate effect on them, and perhaps the government will be very careful to protect itself from a strong reaction. At the same time, the special accommodations that the government had promised the poor are also missing here. The laborer class was especially expecting a raise in salaries, keeping in view continuous increase in prices. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], according to its election promises, should increase the salaries of the laborers to at least 3,000 rupees per month. Similarly, salaried people are also expecting something better. According to Liaquat Baloch, Jamaat-i-Islami's parliamentary leader, the bill to increase fringe benefits of the president, the chief minister, and other Parliament members has been taken back to make it an example and to avoid increasing salaries of government employees. In any case, there is no doubt that the poor lower class and salaried people are suffering most because of price

increases. Traders and industrialists transfer the taxes imposed on them to the poor.

The new 17.5 billion rupees in taxes included in the budget are not to burden people in the lower income brackets, according to our government's claims. In practice, the situation will be the exact opposite. Meanwhile, the prices of telephones, passports, cigarettes, drinks, and clothes have already increased. Obviously, common people will be affected by these price increases. The rate for a telephone call has been increased to 2 rupees a call. The telephone is a basic necessity in present times, and people who do not have telephone installed in their homes take advantage of telephones by using public phone booths. The public call office personnel illegally charged 3 rupees a call in the past. We did not complain about it. At the same time, telephone service is so bad that one succeeds in making a call after wasting money on several calls. Even then, the crosstalk is not clear. This is a common complaint; however, it is strange that the price of telephone calls has been increasing gradually while no one has paid any attention to improving service. Complaints about receiving erroneous bills for telephone service are very common. In such a situation, there is no reason to increase telephone rates. The people will not accept it happily. Similarly, the rates for passports have increased 100 percent. One now has to pay 800 rupees instead of 400 rupees to obtain a passport. This is an atrocious step. Every citizen has a right to get a passport, and to get one's basic right, one should not have to pay such high prices. Even the earlier rate of 400 rupees was too much. Passports should be issued for a token fee, and the passport should be made available on easy terms. In this context, police reports and several other difficult steps are also unnecessary. If a person has an identification card, then he should be given a passport without any questions. A common man just cannot obtain a passport, and those who should not get a passport can do so very easily, whenever they want. Cigarettes are harmful, dangerous to our health, and are a waste of money. However, the common people will be affected by increases in cigarette prices. The increases in drink prices will also affect the poor. They have to have drinks for their guests. It is not necessary to mention here that an increase in clothing prices will most affect the poor, who already find it difficult to cover their bodies.

The government thinks that it is helping the poor by providing flour that is cheaper by 1 rupee per kg at government shops. However, the system designed for the purchase of flour this way is not only embarrassing, but it is also so complex that it would be impossible to benefit from it. For example, the government will issue special food tickets for it. The poor and the helpless will use these tickets to buy flour. It was not explained whether this flour would be available everywhere or only at special stores. This scheme will be implemented on 14 August 1992. It would have been better if flour was made available through grocery stores. Ration cards should have been issued to deserving people. The purpose of

this whole scheme appears to be to give the impression that the government has made flour cheaper in order to help people with low incomes.

The tax on foreign travel has been increased from 280 rupees to 500 rupees. The government must know that the Cabinet ministers who go abroad for vacations will not feel this additional burden at all. However, for some time, the poor laborers of Pakistan have been going abroad. In order to earn a decent living, they work hard to save money to get a passport, visas, and airplane tickets. This additional tax will be unbearable for these workers. It would have been better if persons going abroad for employment were declared exempt from this tax. The discount given on electric bills of industrial and trade organizations will also be paid by the common people. However, the most disturbing aspect of the whole budget is the lack of any step which could show that there was any thought given to changing the nation's economy to an Islamic financial system. The interest system is still in place.

Budget's Impact on National Development Forecast

92AS1054F Karachi JANG in Urdu (Supplement)
18 May 92 p IV

[Article by Asif Nazir: "1992-93 Budget: What Will Be Its Impact on National Development?"]

[Text] The 1992-93 budget was presented to the national assembly on 14 May. At the same time that the secrets of the figures and statistics in the budget were being unveiled, political activity and the wheeling dealing for new political groupings also reached its peak. Political activity has now somewhat quietened down but it is still too early for any speculations. During April and May, the government formulated important policies regarding domestic and foreign affairs, and with the establishment in Afghanistan of the interim Afghan council, seems to have succeeded to a certain extent in achieving its aims. Domestically, after the separation of Jamaat-e-Islami from the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and the sharp political statements and personal attacks made by government circles against the leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, relations have worsened. According to political circles, in the IJI meeting held in Lahore, Jamaat-e-Islami offered the suggestion that the IJI be ended in a pleasant manner and the prime minister adopted a positive agenda as well. But later, Jam Sadiq Ali, the chief minister of Sindh died, the country's law-and-order situation worsened and the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] announced its campaign; following which the prime minister changed his mind and delayed deciding. In a meeting between Qazi Hussain Ahmad and Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad, the leader of Jamaat-e-Islami made it clear that if IJI was not ended in a pleasant fashion, Jamaat-e-Islami would separate from IJI. According to an informed political observer, in the important meeting held in Peshawar, after keeping Golbuddin Hekmatyar,

leader of Hezb-e-Islami, "isolated," Qazi Hussain Ahmad tried again to persuade the prime minister to bring about an agreement between Afghanistan's two major parties, Hezb-e-Islami and Jamaat-e-Islami, and thus enable other large and small parties to join either of these two parties. However, after the establishment of the interim council under the leadership of Mojaddedi, the two old friends Qazi Hussain Ahmad and Nawaz Sharif grew apart and finally the estrangement between them turned to hatred. Jamaat-e-Islami separated from IJI, creating excitement among political circles and giving rise to rumors that something was about to happen. All the important leaders of the APC [All Parties Conference] gathered in Islamabad and planning started for forming new alliances. Meanwhile, the prime minister's invitation to Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the opposition, to participate in talks astonished everyone and Benazir's absence from the APC meeting was considered meaningful. The meeting between the former attorney general, Sharif ud din Pirzada, and the president of the country that lasted a long time, was regarded as presaging changes in the future. However, no earthshaking events actually took place. The question that arises here is whether at every annual budget presentation the opposition should make positive criticisms regarding the government's economic priorities or whether, instead of adopting a clear agenda until the passing of the budget, [it should] give short shrift to the government. It is also worthy of note that rumors of martial law and a national government became so rampant that all sensitive agencies were surprised; these rumors were spread at a time when, on the one hand, the national budget was being presented, and on the other, former chief of army staff retired General Aslam Beg was suggesting a constitutional role for the army. In a meeting with the general, at the writer's urging, Gen. Aslam Beg expressed the view that if the situation of the country became critical, instead of another long-lasting martial law being imposed, it would be better if, as happened during the 1950 martial law, a certain standard was established so that when the need arose, the army could restore law and order and then return to its barracks and thus maintain its national prestige. Anyway, the discussion was about rumors. Everyone knows that the government has the support of more than two-thirds of the national assembly and can get any bill passed including the budget. In view of this fact, political analysts are of the view that in the budget for the current year, the government will encourage a rise in prices and the average consumer will have to deal with the situation. But an informed source indicates that the welfare of the average consumer has been taken into consideration in this year's budget and 14 billion, 800 million rupees have been allocated for a three-year social welfare program and the major portion of the sum, 39,147 million rupees, have been set aside for education and 10,996 million for [text missing]. Twice as much as [before] will be spent on development in the provinces; the sum allocated to this purpose in the 1991-92 budget was 5.6 billion rupees, which has now been increased to 11 billion, 800 million rupees. The number of ministries is

expected to be reduced. Government sources are saying that an effort is being made to place as light a burden as possible on the consumers. In spite of all this, the country owes 900 billion rupees to foreign creditors and pressures by the World Bank and IMF continue. To be able to present a balanced budget under these circumstances is indeed a positive step. It is true that the condition of the national economy is serious and foreign debts constitute a heavy burden. In order to stabilize the economy, self-sufficiency and political stability are necessary as well as the cooperation of the people. It should be noted that Benazir Bhutto, leader of the opposition, considers the strengthening of the democratic process in the country to be her first priority and has tried to encourage senior politicians to follow the same path. Certain People's Party circles are saying that Benazir and Nawaz Sharif might meet in the next few days, which would be an important step in getting democracy moving in the right direction. Now a look at Pir Pagaro's Functional Muslim League, the members of which were announced officially. According to Functional Muslim League sources, the new organization of this party would start from Punjab. There has been no dearth of rumors and some kind of storm is being forecast. Some reliable sources think that the Pashtun-Baluch differences in Balochistan could become part of the change, but there is cause for worry, for if the three major forces participating in power decide on change, what would be the reason for it?

It should be noted here that with a view to achieving cooperation with Jamaat-e-Islami, contacts have been established between Senator Bisharat Illahi and federal minister Ejaz ul Haq on the one hand and the top leadership of Jamaat-e-Islami on the other. According to a reliable source, the prime minister has given the chief minister of the Frontier province the special mission of achieving a compromise with Qazi Hussain Ahmad; it remains to be seen what comes of that. Jamaat-e-Islami circles are saying that the government had thought that it would be able to play the part of honest broker in regard to the Jamaat leadership; the prime minister met with two important leaders of the Jamaat. It was also expected that Tufail, whose views are different from those of Qazi Hussain, would say something concerning the matter but he did not do so. The statements of federal ministers were a link in this chain of events. Mian Shabaz Sharif, Shaikh Rashid, and Chaudhary Shujat Hussain met Liaqat Baloch in the national assembly and these meetings could bring about some sort of cooperation. A trustworthy source has suggested the possibility of a Benazir-Nawaz Sharif meeting during which the arrest of the group with ties to Al-Zulfiqar, the release of Asif Zardari and the recall of references might be discussed. Turning to the latest events in Afghanistan, according to reports received from Kabul, differences between the Dostum militia and mujahedin organizations are beginning to surface and Golboddin Hekmatyar's position seems to be getting stronger. The entire situation appears to be undergoing a change.

Golboddin Hekmatyar is becoming the focal point of various organizations. Certain sources are saying that Jamaat-e-Islami's Ahmad Shah Mas'ud and Hekmatyar may be able to work together. The law-and-order situation in Afghanistan is improving. According to a wireless conversation with Hekmatyar, he is not antagonistic towards the Afghan interim council but he is the enemy of the murderous Afghan militias and he will not rest until the militias are expelled from Kabul. The establishment of a permanent peace in Afghanistan will augur well for Pakistan's future prosperity but the achievement of a permanent peace requires diplomacy and thought on the part of Afghan leaders and an end to their differences. As for the rumors of political activity and public views on the budget, the next few days will reveal the answers to the questions. It is still premature, however, to speculate on the measures that will be taken to strengthen the national economy and the public attitude towards these measures. The questions that need some thought are the attitude of political leaders; government agencies; rumors; the government's agenda following the passing of the budget and the policy it will adopt to increase the ranks of its well wishers. All these questions also should be answered by the events of the next few days.

Budget Seen Overemphasizing Privatization

92AS11011 Karachi DAWN in English 26 May 92 p 9

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Reflections on the Budget"]

[Text] If the budget has any message to convey to the nation, it is one of despondency and despair without a promise of an early relief to the hard-pressed population, or restoration of normalcy to a badly-shaken economy. More perplexing is the thought that the crisis the country is facing, is reminiscent of the situation in the year of its establishment.

So bleak were the prospects of survival in 1947 that it was genuinely feared the state was poised on the brink of extinction. The fear on our side had engendered hope across the border of its imminent collapse, which was the principal reason for the Congress acceptance of the Partition plan. We had no sustainable resource base, no industry worth the name; agriculture and commerce, our only assets, were in a state of confusion and chaos, in the tumultuous events following our independence. And yet, through self-imposed discipline and spirit of sacrifice, the country was able to demonstrate that it had the will to survive and the potential for progress if it only had the breathing space to forge ahead.

Forty-five years have elapsed after the presentation of Pakistan's first budget. Though far from satisfactory, it was reassuring that the future was after all not that dismal. We had our share of the internal debt of undivided subcontinent to repay, but we had also our claim on the sterling balance accumulated in war time.

Since those days of trial and tribulations, the economic scenario has been completely transformed. We have taken tremendous strides in every sector of the economy, including agriculture. Starting from almost a zero mile in manufacturing, we have come a long way. The number of factories in all twenty in this region, have now multiplied to nearly four thousand and in the Gross National Product [GNP] to which the contribution of industry was next to nothing, it is now second only to agriculture, twenty-nine per cent of the total. Astonishing progress has been achieved in the field of banking. The production of wheat, cotton, and rice has enormously increased. These achievements are glaringly reflected in the size of the budget. It has inflated from Rupees 100 crore to Rupees 2,920 crore which is an impressive achievement, even after making allowance for the magnitude of inflation that has taken place in the intervening period.

A deficit of Rupees 890 crore, however, gives it a totally different complexion. Its unprecedented scale has not unnaturally been the object of universal criticism, from highly knowledgeable sources, including eminent economists, well known publicists and administrators of repute, who have been analysing its catastrophic implications for the economy and their disastrous impact on society. For the laymen, the real test of judging the soundness of the economy is the market place where he is made painfully aware, how quickly are the contents of his pockets emptied in buying the bare necessities of existence. The price level has been soaring at a speed with which the income level cannot keep pace.

In the early years, the rupee was a respected international currency and its value was high enough for us to successfully resist the pressure for devaluation. Today it does not enjoy the same prestige in the world money market. Our financial and fiscal policies have not been able to maintain its purchasing power. There is a justifiable apprehension that as the consequences of the budgetary proposals begin to unfold themselves, it might experience a precipitous fall. Holding the price line has been a major problem of every government. Never before has the price hike been so steep and the steps so halting and slow, that they are almost imperceptible.

While, for all development a price has to be paid, its cost in our case has been too costly for the nation to pay. An expenditure of Rupees 93 billion on debt servicing is simply colossal for the nation to brave it with equanimity. Had the foreign loans, we have freely borrowed, been judiciously spent, our plight would not have been so lamentable. We have been keen on borrowing money without being disturbed by the thought that it had to be repaid by the present and the future generations out of the country's real resources, which were not expanding with an equal momentum because of the latitude and lavishness of the administration.

Behind the astronomical figures of foreign indebtedness is a story of massive corruption, which has adversely affected the growth of the economy. The loss suffered by the country has never been statistically worked out, but

for an economist of Dr Mahbubul Haq's stature who had been actively concerned with the nation's financial and economic affairs throughout the Zia regime, to estimate it at Rupees 40 billion a year, is a sordid confession. Its widespread prevalence, the Prime Minister himself admitted in the unsavoury picture of the economy he painted before the announcement of the budget, counselling patience to the people whose patience is already exhausted.

The people did not know then that the worst was yet to come. It has been a stock-in-trade of our finance ministers that no fresh taxes would be levied. Indirect taxes have always been their first temptation, and direct taxes even if fractional were their last resort. Taxes on travels, telephones and automobiles by whatever name called, can and are generally entered into expense accounts which is used by businessmen as a convenient means of avoidance if evasion is a disagreeable description. For the middle class in the fixed income bracket, it is a direct charge. What hits the masses hardest in their bellies are the ever-escalating prices of essential commodities.

Twenty years ago a Pakistani professor who had come for his lateral entrance training to the Lahore Staff College, to my utter surprise, told me that the price of meat in Iraq was Rupees 60 per kilo. Today mutton is selling at Rupees 64 a kilo in Pakistan. All edibles like fish, poultry and dairy products, cereals and vegetables, have registered a phenomenal increase in their prices, which are certain to experience a further escalation when the government undertakes its borrowing operations of Rupees 65 billion to cover its yawning deficit. Deficit financing on a huge scale which seems unavoidable, will further deepen the economic crisis. What we call instability in political parlance is but a pale shadow of a breakdown in economic terminology, to which an answer has to be found by putting our financial house in order through radical reform of the fiscal system.

The Prime Minister must give a second sober thought to his ambitious self-employment programme. Although conceived outside the budget, its inflationary potential cannot be discounted. We cannot count the chickens before they are hatched. In the absence of a productive mechanism to channelise the funds, the count is certain to go off the mark and the scheme will recoil on its authors with a bang. The country is already neck-deep in debt.

A public debt of Rupees 9,000 billion for an economy with our resources, is a burdensome liability. We cannot afford to aggravate the burden by a further spate of borrowing. A policy of self-reliance must necessarily rely on direct taxes. The affluent class cannot be allowed to get away lightly by a show of sweet reasonableness of increasing productivity, which is only a facade for enhancing its profitability.

A ban on conspicuous consumption is not a solution since it is impossible to enforce it. For, wealth wherever

it accumulates, must display itself. To drive it underground is not to solve the problem of disparity, which is causing all the turbulence and turmoil in the economy. A sensible economic policy has to be based on a wider distribution of man's worldly goods which money can buy. Our governments have talked of austerity in a narrow context of the lifestyle of the privileged few and not austerity as a way of life for the entire population. The country is living beyond its means, and there are classes whose interest the government is striving to safeguard, which are living at its expense.

This glaring contradiction can only be resolved by an assault on the fortress of privilege, whether it happens to be located in the rural hinterland or on the urban front line.

The controversy between the capitalists and the feudals is meant more to protect their mutual interests than to promote the overall interests of the country. If the government gives a long rope to the industrialists, the landlords will not allow it [to] put a loop into their neck. With the privatisation drive in industry underway, the distribution of agrarian estates, their proprietors argue is out of question.

The choice is restricted to the contribution they should be asked to make to the revenues of the state, which are depleting to a point where the government cannot make the two ends meet. The industrialists have made hay from numerous concessions given by the government. What the state has received in return is not worth the candle, and as for the landlords they have all along enjoyed blissful immunity from taxation of any kind. Four and a half decades after independence, the Finance Minister, Mr Sartaj Aziz, says the matter is still under consideration.

Analyst Calls For Trimming of Federal Government

92AS1101H Karachi: DAWN in English 28 May 92 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Trimming the Size of Government"]

[Text] Soaring administrative expenditure has been one of the key problems of poor Pakistan. Not only the cost of General Administration which next year will be Rupees 10.77 billion matters but also the increase in red tape which a big-sized government engenders and slows down the economic and social progress of the country.

Increase in the number of ministries and divisions and their expansion breeds more of jurisdictional conflicts and infighting between the ministries, and within the ministries, and between the Centre and the provinces, and between the provinces and the local bodies, particularly the major metropolitan corporations.

While the bloated ministries and large departments are usually more concerned with controlling the people and stifling or stalling the initiatives of the people following

the old colonial tradition, the people are upset by such a self-negating and wasteful administrative set-up and its high cost which keeps eating into the development budget that is getting to be too small in a developing country.

There are four good reasons why we should have a smaller federal government now:

1. Following the award of the National Finance Commission [NFC] which places larger resources at the disposal of the provinces, many of the subjects like education, health, local bodies, environment, etc., ought to be the concern of the provinces. The provinces are now being encouraged to raise larger resources, while their budgetary surplus will no longer be seized by the Centre. And if they raise additional resources, they will be matched by the Centre. Hence the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] government is following the example of the Punjab which has raised additional resources of Rupees 750 million this year.

2. Increasing privatisation of the financial and other public sector units reduces the need for large departments to administer or control them.

3. Increasing computerisation also reduces the need for a large number of staff in each office. If one goes by what Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz has said, he is reposing his full faith in the computers for catching the tax thieves.

4. With the de-regulation of the economy and the policy of encouraging private sector in as many areas as possible, the approach of the government should become more promotional and managerial than controlling things.

Of course, de-regulation does not mean the government abdicating from such sectors. What it calls for is a change in its role. The efforts should now be to keep the private sector institutions running on their proper tracks, and not letting them fall off their rails, as the coops did in the Punjab, and some of the new banks may do in the whole of Pakistan, as demonstrated by the tussle in the Indus Bank.

Despite the obvious need for a reduction in the size of the federal government, the expenditure on General Administration has risen by Rupees 2.3 billion over the 1990-91 figure to reach Rupees 9.96 billion in the current year. The expenditure on General Administration next year will be Rupees 2.5 billion more than the amount budgeted for the current year and Rupees 0.81 billion over the revised figure.

It should not be surprising if the actual expenditure on General Administration next year, too, rises over the budget as it had done this year by Rupees 1.7 billion.

What is surprising is that this kind of rise in administration is taking place after the Services Management Division, followed by the Economy Commission, last year suggested large cuts in the size of the government: so

that the nondevelopment expenditure could be reduced and more allocated for development.

Stressing the need for reducing nondevelopment expenditure which now claims 77 per cent of the overall budget, Mr Sartaj Aziz said while presenting his budget that the Economy Commission set up in July last year had submitted its preliminary report, and the Prime Minister has accepted its recommendations in principle. In light of those recommendations, the number of federal ministries would be reduced and subordinate and attached offices will be abolished or reduced. These measures would reduce the nondevelopment expenditure substantially, he said. He also announced that the government had decided to reduce its expenditure by Rupees 4.5 billion next year.

How can he have such a large saving when he stated simultaneously that no one would be removed from the service and the surplus staff will be put into a "pool" to be used later. When all of them will be paid their full pay and given all the perquisites, how can there be a very large reduction in the expenditure? At best the office expenditure, if the premises are rented, and the cost of telephone, electricity and office transport may be eliminated, while the number of senior OSDs [expansion not given] or officers on no duty will increase.

If the P.M. [Prime Minister] wanted a substantial reduction in expenditure, the size of the cabinet would not have been raised to 50 last year, and the ministers enabled to undertake too many foreign trips and tours within the country. And when it comes to ministers, what matters is not only their salaries and varied costly perquisites but also the large personal staff they have, the number of cars they manage to acquire in contravention of rules, and the enormous security cost which is rising steadily. If they fear for their life, they need not run around to so many social functions daily at a heavy cost to the country because of the elaborate security arrangements.

While the budget for General Administration keeps on rising steadily, what has actually been cut is the development expenditure. The Annual Development Programme [ADP] outlay for next year was to be a modest Rupees 74.1 billion, compared to the current year's budget allocation of Rupees 72.66 billion. But even that outlay has been cut by Rupees 6.5 billion after the budget was presented to the National Assembly in an effort to reduce the overall budget deficit to 5 per cent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product]. In the process the ADP allocation has sunk to 23 per cent of the budget.

The bureaucracy in Pakistan has multiplied on the basis of Parkinson's Law, which is a denial of what Edmond Burke had said about government. He said: "Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants." What we have instead is an administrative labyrinth in which following the infamous Peter Principle, some persons have risen to the top according to the level of their incompetence.

Qazi Alimullah, the Finance Secretary, is reported to have argued with the various ministries to formulate the budget for 1992-93 on "Zero-based budgeting," which means that the budget of each ministry and division is zero, and then the department has to justify the need for each rupee and each staff member. But no ministry seems to have acted on his advice. Instead they came up with larger budgets. And now how the Prime Minister and Mr Sartaj Aziz are going to squeeze Rupees 4.5 billion out of all this, without sacrificing further development or welfare activities remains to be seen.

Even if the officers are put into a pool where will the ministers go? Politically it was wiser not to have opted for a large cabinet with as many as 29 ministers of cabinet rank than to send them out of ministries now. The contrast was indeed sharp: while there was a ban on appointment of staff, the cabinet was expanded.

Will the promised reduction in the number of ministries and subordinate departments come next year? There is nothing to indicate that such moves are really on the way, and the promised saving of Rupees 4.5 billion would really be made.

"The government is not the solution to a problem but the problem itself," said President Reagan; but then, you need an educated and enlightened public which we do not have.

Those who supported federalisation of too many subjects wanted to ensure uniformity in the country, particularly in the areas of education, ideology, culture, etc. But such uniformity, if desirable or essential, can come through consensus among the provinces rather than federal edicts.

When Ms Benazir Bhutto was in the opposition before she became Prime Minister, she argued in favour of the concurrent list of subjects in the constitution being abolished so that the subjects will be central or provincial, and the Centre could not arrogate to itself most of the subjects. But after she came to power, she did not want that kind of change as that would have made Mr Nawaz Sharif a formidable chief minister of the Punjab.

The fact is that education and public health could not make much headway during the last 45 years as the provinces had too little money and even less of real authority, and usually awaited federal initiatives and federal funds. All that has to change now in favour of the provinces, endowed with large refunds following the NFC award, playing a more dynamic role in the social sector.

Meanwhile, the Public Accounts Committee [PAC] should come into its own and strive to cut the waste and misuse of public funds as it begins its work after a lapse of 19 months. And provincial public accounts committees, too, should do likewise and ensure better utilisation of the augmented provincial funds. And the federal PAC should be assisted by at least two chartered accountants as the laymen of the NA [National Assembly] may not be

able to scrutinise the accounts well enough even if they have the report of the Auditor General of Pakistan with them. They need expert guidance and assistance, and that should be forthcoming at the federal and provincial levels.

Increased Debt Servicing Seen Threat to Nation's Future

92AS1117H Karachi DAWN in English 4 Jun 92 p 13

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Taxing Future Generations"]

[Text] The basic budgetary constraints of Pakistan are as elementary as they are easy to identify. While the federal revenue next year without additional taxation, will be Rs[rupees]178.6 billion, defence and debt servicing alone could consume Rs 175.2 billion, leaving just Rs 3.4 billion to meet the needs of the ministries and divisions.

Inevitably the current expenditure has been pegged at Rs 218.8 billion to meet the demands of all these ministries after they were scaled down. As a result, the revenue budget deficit alone has a record deficit of Rs 40.2 billion. This deficit has been rising a great deal year after year.

The new budget, for example, levies additional revenues for Rs 17.5 billion minus the relief which the Finance Minister announced in the course of the budget debate in the National Assembly. And that leaves the current budget with a larger than the Rs 22.7 billion deficit he reported the day he presented the budget. Clearly we are borrowing too heavily for current consumption and increasing our debt burden excessively with all its perils.

Dr. Mahbubul Haq as finance minister in 1985 raised a big hue and cry against such heavy borrowing for current consumption rather than for development which can generate funds for repaying the loans, domestic and foreign. The current consumption does not generate repayable funds but only bloats the debt and adds to the debt servicing cost. Ten years ago the debt servicing was Rs 8.9 billion. In 1988-89 it was Rs 59 billion, in 1990-91 Rs 64 billion, in the current year Rs 80.7 billion and next year it will be Rs 93 billion. Clearly within 10 years it has increased over ten times, and within three years it has jumped from Rs 59 billion to Rs 93 billion. As we go on living on borrowing, and borrowing the funds needed even for the modest Annual Development programme too, in full, the future seems horrifying.

Dr. Mahbubul Haq had proposed parliamentary ceiling on borrowing which could not be breached without prior parliamentary approval following a debate. However, the budgetary deficit next year is to be limited to 5 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] or Rs 65 billion. But to achieve that the government has not cut the current expenditure but the Annual Development Programme [ADP] by Rs 6.5 billion immediately after presenting the budget. And there is small hope the deficit

next year would be Rs 65 billion, including foreign assistance for the ADP of Rs 50 billion.

Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz has promised to reduce the current expenditure by Rs 4.5 billion through economy measures, including a cut in the size of the federal secretariat and attached offices. There are now suggestions like doing away with the 15 parliamentary secretaries, even some ministers and cutting the strength of grade 21 and 22 officers or additional secretaries and secretaries by a half.

Total public debt today stands at Rs 900 billion, including Rs 500 billion as internal debt and Rs 400 billion as foreign debt. In addition, there are short-term foreign debts and borrowing of foreign exchange from banks in Pakistan to the extent of 3 billion dollars. All that raises the total debt close to Rs 1,000 billion or a trillion rupees.

Interest payments on internal debt is far more costly than on external debt. Interest payments on that debt next year will jump to Rs 57 billion from Rs 47 billion this year. Interest on foreign official debt which is rather close to the domestic debt will cost only Rs 14.46 billion because of the low interest rates but the repayment of the principal will cost Rs 21 billion or a total of Rs 35.4 billion. But the interest on short-term foreign exchange loans as well as the borrowing of foreign exchange deposits from banks in Pakistan calls for higher interest rate payments.

To beat the high cost of domestic non-bank borrowing or borrowing from the public, the government has resorted to heavy borrowing from the State Bank of Pakistan which this year was Rs 61.9 billion. And it has used a large part of that to repay the loans raised from the public at a heavy interest rates. Of course, it has to pay what is supposed to be commercial rate of interest to the State Bank as well instead the half a percent it used to pay in the past; but then, if the government pays heavily to the State Bank that money comes back to the government as profits. So what it loses by one hand it gains by the other, and ultimately reduces the deficit which it claims will be Rs 59 billion this year as it was last year.

The government has also done a great deal of loan-shedding on its own part by enabling the autonomous bodies and commercial organisations to borrow from the public directly the way the WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], for example, has been doing by offering high interest rates.

While the reports of the Auditor General of Pakistan and others speak of massive waste or embezzlement in WAPDA, how the government proposes to check such abuses in other bodies such as Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation is not obvious.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court of Pakistan has done well to designate Mr. M.A.K. Chaudhry, former I.G. [Inspector General] police, to investigate complaints

sent to the court. The court instituted suo moto proceedings under Article 184(3) of the Constitution. In Karachi, the KESC [Karachi Electric Supply Corporation] and the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board need such investigations urgently.

By borrowing from the State Bank to the extent of Rs 62 billion which means printing of far more money and buying off the bearer bonds from the public, the government has left the former bond-holders with that amount of money. If instead that money was not with the people, it would not be in the market aggravating the inflationary pressure.

Apart from that, the budgets own contribution to the inflation is about three percent. As taxes to the extent of Rs 16 billion levied are indirect, they have a way of pushing up prices far more than the actual taxes as the importers, industrialists, wholesalers, distributors and retailers push up their margin of profits proportionate to the new prices.

The fact is that the government pays lip service to fighting inflation but actually promotes that and then comes up with low inflation figures which no one accepts, least of all the housewives and others who visit the markets.

What we are facing is an acute vicious circle. As the revenues go to meet only the cost of defence and debt servicing the government resorts to additional taxation. And when that is resisted, the government withdraws or reduces some taxes and resorts to heavier borrowing. As the debt service mounts in the following year, additional taxation is again proposed, and the enhanced resistance forces the government to retreat again. How long can this exercise last without bankrupting the economy altogether?

If the readily available revenues are enough to meet the needs of defence and debt servicing only, there are two other sectors which can cover the deficit a great deal. The first is agriculture which has a share of 26 percent in the GDP, but that pays no income tax. Cotton growers have the benefit of seeing their output soar from four million bales to 13 million within a short time and this year by 30 percent; but they would not pay any income tax, not even to the provincial government if that is a provincial subject.

Next comes the textile industry with its 400 textile mills which pays very little taxes. Repeated attempts to tax this industry properly have yielded small results. And now the powerloom owners of Faisalabad had triumphed over the Finance Minister again and the excise duty is to be replaced with small fixed tax.

With two items consuming the entire budget and two sectors which can pay a good deal of taxes but do not, where do we go? That is the fundamental budgetary question of the day. The solution to the problem lies in real political will to solve it, take the bull by the horn

once and solve the issue for ever, and not in an attitude of drift, compromise or surrender.

However, there is an attempt for a breakthrough in one vital area. The government has announced the setting up of a commission to modernise the armed forces and increase indigenous defence production. If it results in reduction of the defence expenditure, that will be a great achievement.

Cutting the debt burden and the soaring debt servicing cost depends on cutting down the budgetary deficit by increasing the revenues and reducing the waste in public spending. If inflation comes down, the government can borrow from the public less expensively. And that calls for a tight economic regime without the kind of abuses common in Pakistan and coming down very heavily on the pervasive corruption. That calls for a political will and not more of pious wish.

To avoid today's taxes, the vested interests are making tomorrow's task too difficult for the nation. Instead of collecting large tax revenues from those who can pay, such as the rich farmers and textile mill owners, the government borrows heavily. The rich class is, thus, passing the buck to future generations. Public debt now is a trillion rupees, and if we go on adding to that every year, the unborn generations will be made to pay that.

Government Said Earning Money Through Privatization

92AS1015J Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
30 May 92 p 12

[Article by Shakil Shaikh: "Govt To Earn \$1 Billion Through Privatisation"]

[Text] Islamabad, 29 May: The government expects about one billion dollars including liabilities and guarantees, out of the sale of 100 public sector industrial units through its current policy of boosting country's economy by involving private sector.

A recent report of the Privatisation Commission and its progress filed with the Finance Ministry revealed that it had so far sold out 56 state-owned units in the private sector, getting Rupees 9 billion in cash or guarantees.

As many as Rupees 3.5 billion were deposited with the government treasury while the remaining Rupees 5.5 billion were secured through guarantees duly submitted by the new owners of these public sector units.

Official sources in the Privatisation Commission told *THE MUSLIM* on Friday that third phase, probably the last one of auctioning the remaining 19 industrial units, would be launched in the first week of next month. The auction will be held through open bidding with buying of the units at the spot by payment of 26 per cent of the total price.

The Privatisation Commission sources say there are 44 units to be sold out, as out of a total of 40 units put on

sale in the second phase, only 15 were either sold out or negotiations for their sale were underway.

While 8 public sector units reportedly failed to attract any purchaser because of their bad locations, a similar number of units are not ready for sale because of court cases either by their old owners or the workers.

Another 8 to 10 units were being negotiated between the Privatisation Commission (PC) and the intending purchasers.

Harnai Woollen Mill, Larkana Sugar and Shahdadt Textile Mill and some other units were not put on sale due to court cases.

Similarly A&B Oils (Multan and Karachi), Maqbool Ghee, Universal Ghee, Quality Steels and two other ghee units which failed to attract any potential buyer because of their bad locations and the commission was now engaged in restructuring their sale. The restructuring of these units, besides those which failed to attract buyers would be sold out after the third phase likely by the end of June this year.

Government Employment Scheme Ridiculed

92AS0984C Karachi *TAKBEER* in Urdu 30 Apr 92 p 23

[Article by Malika Rohalia: "Prime Minister's Program for Employment or a Raffle Scheme"]

[Text] Prime Minister Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has unveiled a self-employment scheme to put an end to the rising tide of unemployment among the youth of the country as an Eid [Muslim festival marking the end of Ramadan] present. Under this scheme every unemployed person, whether he is from urban or rural areas, will receive credit to start a family business. These credits will consist of three categories: i) For small businesses, credits of Rs. [rupees] 10-50,000; ii) credits of Rs. 50-100,000, and iii) credits of Rs. 150-300,000. These credits will be made available to groups or individuals. In order to make these credits available, the government provided the first installment of Rs. 250 million to the Small Business Finance Corporation before April 15. In all, the Corporation is to provide total credits of approximately Rs. 2.25 billion to implement this scheme.

The government-controlled media gave extensive publicity to the scheme soon after it was launched. Pakistan TV set aside 15 to 20 minutes every day in its broadcasts. Considerable emphasis is placed on this particular aspect of the prime minister's employment policy, that every citizen of Pakistan whether he is skilled or otherwise, merely on his own cognizance, can obtain a loan from the government and start any respectable source of livelihood. The other significant feature is that, on the one side, religious administrators and the members of the Mosque Zakat Committees and the administrators of the Treasury, teachers, bank officers, government officials in grade 16 or above and tax payers have been

authorized to certify loan applications. The inflation-weary unemployed rank and file were expecting an end to their travails, and hoping that by benefitting from the government's scheme they would be able to make ends meet. But this is just a mirage. Once the banks started to issue the forms starting on April 16 and considered the implications of this scheme, they realized that the prime minister's plan to end unemployment was pre-in-the-sky. A government, which makes Islamic fundamentalism the centerpiece of its policies, by imposing markups on these loans, has tainted them with interest charges. Second, under the erstwhile scheme the markups are similar to those charged by commercial banks for their regular loans. In this context, it should be noted that under the "LLM" Scheme, the government provides 20 billion rupees in credits annually to industrialists and traders in spite of the fact that the recipients do not meet their full tax obligations to the government. Besides, it is not an easy matter to start a business in this day and age just because one is being given a loan. It is simplistic to assume that one's business will be so successful that one will be able to meet one's markup commitments as well as meet the family expenses under the rising tide of inflationary pressures. Had the government provided the loan application forms free of charge, we would have assumed that it did not propose to derive any financial benefits from it. However, the imposition of fees of Rs. 20, 50, 100 has given it the appearance of a raffle scheme. According to one source, the government will derive an income of Rs. 1 billion in one month through these nonrefundable fees with no guarantee that all applicants will receive loans. Given the Treasury's dire financial situation the government will undoubtedly benefit from this scheme. But it will be adding an intolerable burden on those who will fail to secure loans as well as on those who do secure loans but will be burdened with interest payments.

One wonders if this has the makings of financial scandal in the continuing saga of financial scandals in the present and the previous governments. The prime minister's statement that he has full confidence in borrowers meeting their obligations and that he will not be let down is somewhat ironic. He claims that the loans will be given on trust. This is so because the scheme is based not just on trust; on the contrary, the conditions under which loans will be given are much tougher than the government would wish us to believe. It is really the "influential" who can get vast amounts of debts of billions of rupees written off with the help of the bureaucracy and yet retain the full confidence of the government.

The national interest would be best served if the government cast a second look at its scheme and came up with a proposal that considers the difficulties of unemployed youth and is formulated with the help of Islamic sociologists. Such a scheme would be free from ad-hocism, will be based on realism, and will not aim at exploiting the common man. The government will do well to check the tide of rising prices and refrain from the "Eid Gift Golden Scheme." It is such schemes based on usurious

interest charges that are at the root of the current economic inequities. The crying need of the time is to purge society of such ills.

Export Targets for 1992-93 Detailed

92AS1054C Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 May 92 p 6

[News Report: "Export Target Is 7 Billion, 920 Million Dollars"]

[Text] Karachi, (commerce reporter): The country's export target for the fiscal year 1992-93 has been set at a record 7 billion, 922 million U.S. dollars. According to informed government sources, exports for the year 1990-91 (according to firm statistics) amounted to 6 billion, 133 million dollars; exports for the year 1991-92 have been estimated at 6 billion, 889 million dollars. The export target for raw cotton is 2 million, 620,000 bales bringing revenue of 549 million dollars; 1 million, 500,000 metric tons of rice worth 475 million dollars; 700,000 metric tons of basmati rice worth 315 million dollars; 800,000 other kinds of rice worth 160 million dollars; 537 kg of yarn bringing an amount of 1 billion, 300 million dollars; fabric exports worth 918 million dollars; readymade garments with a value of 663 million dollars; tarpaulin and canvas, 86 million dollars; hosiery, 473 million dollars; textile made-ups [sic], 608 million dollars; fish and shrimp, export target 116 million dollars (55 million, 240,000 kg); tanned leather, 241 million dollars; carpets, 237 million dollars (4 million 70,000 square meters); synthetic textiles, 431 million dollars (target, 538 million, 750,000 square meters); the value of other goods is estimated at 1 billion 825 million dollars. During 1990-91, 1 billion, 161 million dollars worth of goods were exported and the value of exports for 1991-92 is estimated to be 1 billion, 437 billion dollars.

New Trade Policy Said to Boost Exports

92AS1167D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Jul 92 p 12

[Text] Islamabad, June 30—Federal Minister for Commerce Malik Naim Khan on Tuesday announced trade policy for the year 1992-93 containing number of incentives to boost overall exports specially the export of non-traditional items and liberalisation of imports.

Announcing the policy on radio and television Malik Naim Khan said exports for the year 1992-93 had been projected at 8 billion dollars reflecting an increase of 15 percent over 1991-92 while the imports for 1992-93 had been placed at 9.9 billion dollars as compared to 9.2 billion dollars for 1991-92.

In order to liberalise imports, he said, the government had decided to remove additional 21 items from the negative list. The details of the items will be given at a press conference, he added.

He said the trade policy for the coming year had been conceived on liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation which are key policy instruments designed to remove obstacles from the path of development, correct distortions in allocations of resources and release stupendous energies of the private sector.

Malik Naim announcing the decisions approved by the Federal Cabinet on Tuesday said in order to further improve the scheme of export processing unit designed for ensuring availability of imported inputs at the internationally neutral prices to the value added industries, eligibility for availing of this scheme has been made more realistic.

- Raw materials for further processing from outside the bond have been permitted on the basis of existing controls used for exports.
- Bond storage period for imported accessories has been extended from the existing one year to two years. For raw material and accessories imported free of cost or on credit, the bond storage period will be three years. Accessories/raw materials not used will be allowed to be re-exported in their original form.

The Minister said the raw materials replenishment scheme had been improved and deficiencies remedied. He said requirements of import permit for imports of freely importable items under SRO [statutory rules and orders] 68,69 and 722 had been abolished.

He said import of machinery, spares and accessories for cutlery industry had been allowed free of customs duty, Iqra surcharge import licence fee, import of combing machines had been allowed at zero customs duty, five per cent Iqra surcharge and six per cent licence fee, to boost export of high count yarn.

He said exporters of fresh fruits/vegetables had been given facility of duty drawback on the packing material at the rate to be fixed by the government, besides freight subsidy.

Malik Naim said it had been decided to allow three way merchant trading through back to back L/CS [letters of credit?] for crude oil, wheat, rubber, cotton, tea, sugar and fertilizer for reexport to develop three way trade.—
PPI/APP

Military Chief Seeks Recruitment of Sindhis, Balochis

92AS1054A Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 May 92 p 1

[News Report: "Asif Nawaz: 'Young Men From Sindh and Balochistan Should Be Recruited in the Military Forces'; 'Every Officer and Private of the Pakistan Forces Is Inspired by the Spirit of Jihad'; 'Conversation With Officers in the Panu Aqil Barracks'"]

[Text] Rawalpindi, (PPI): General Asif Nawaz, head of Pakistan's military forces, urged officers to create a more realistic and effective training atmosphere for new recruits in order to enable them to reach the desirable level of professional expertise. Gen. Nawaz spoke with officers on Thursday during a tour of the Panu Aqil barracks. He placed special emphasis on the need for recruiting on a continuing basis a larger number of young men from the remote areas of Sindh and Balochistan. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that large numbers of individuals from those areas were joining Pakistan's forces and praised their performance as professional soldiers. Gen. Asif visited classes held in different units for fresh recruits and observed the level of the professional training and religious education they were receiving. He said that faith was Pakistan's greatest strength and that every officer and soldier in Pakistan's military forces was inspired by the spirit of jihad in the defense of the motherland. Corps commander Lieutenant General Mohammad Nasir Akhtar accompanied Gen. Nawaz on the tour.

Reduced Defense Spending Seen National Priority

92AS1101J Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Jun 92 p 6

[Article by V.A. Jafarey, former Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan: "Reduction in Defence Expenditure in Pakistan"]

[Text] In the new global environment, pressure from developed countries and recipient countries, to reduce defence spending will increase. Donors have been encouraged, to make demands, by the fact that developing countries have already reduced defence expenditure from a peak of \$155 billion to \$133 billion, (about 21 percent) while the developed countries have also retrenched by 10 percent. The focus of attention now is South Asia and sub-Sahara, where military expenditures have not come down and which are two of the poorest regions of the world. Of all problems, the most important and complex is the defence deployment produced by the tension and disputes between Pakistan and India.

What are the prospects of bringing down defence expenditure in Pakistan? Though oft-repeated, it may be useful to recount some of the basic facts. In the current year, defence outlay was Rupees 71 billion or 41 percent of current Federal expenditure. As part of total public expenditure, defence accounted for 23 percent. Defence absorbed 5.9 percent of the Gross Domestic Product

[GDP]. All these are large magnitudes for a poor country and there can be no question of the desirability and urgency of reducing the defence burden, if it can be done without jeopardising national security.

Over a period of 40 years, defence spending as a proportion of the budget and the GDP has been quite stable. Defence expenditure has grown at roughly the same rate as the budget and revenues of the government. It would appear that defence expenditure has been subject to general resource constraints but on the other hand there are also factors such as Indian deployment which have precluded a sustained reduction. While overall expenditure has grown steadily, the foreign exchange component has gone up sharply. The increase in foreign currency expenditure is due to greater reliance on imported weapons, necessitated by rapid and frequent change in military technology and the need to maintain an appropriate technological balance with the adversary. The expenditure on pensions is also rising as a result of generous retirement benefits given in 1987.

What is the rationale for defence expenditure? A country arms itself if it perceives a threat to its independence from an external source. The first question is whether there is any threat to Pakistan from any source. One of the political parties, the ANP (Awami National Party) asserts, that Pakistan does not face any physical threat or the threat is greatly exaggerated. If this view is accepted, the size of the defence forces can be limited to requirements of ceremonial or internal protection duties. However, the overwhelming majority of people in Pakistan disagree with this view and consider India to be a serious threat, at least so long as the Kashmir dispute is not settled. If India is a threat, the magnitude of the threat has to be determined and provision made to repel it. Prudence and experience have shown that the size of the threat should be measured by the capability of the adversary, rather than its current plans and intentions, which undergo change very quickly.

The conventional wisdom is that a ratio of 1 to 3 in force levels gives the defender an equal chance. We do not know the exact ratios as of now between Pakistan and India but our strategy has been to maintain a minimum ratio of 1 to 3 and not to allow a deterioration in the ratio for any length of time. One of the implications of the ratio of forces is that since the size of Pakistan's economy is one-eighth of India's, the maintenance of a 1 to 3 ratio in forces, imposes a heavier defence burden on the economy of Pakistan.

Are the ratios sacrosanct? Perhaps not. A country can risk a lower ratio only after sober and careful consideration. Firstly, the quality of manpower and the morale of troops can make a difference. A long time ago, the popular patriotic view was that every Pakistani is equal to ten of the enemy. It is not perhaps safe, in this day and age to rely on romantic assumption. The experience of conflict in South Asia has been that a more realistic view should be taken of the difference made by superior quality of manpower. The ratio of forces can also be

modified by overwhelming advantage in military technology. The prospect of either side acquiring immense technological superiority appears remote for the subcontinent. Another alternative is to reduce the size of the standing army and mobilise the whole nation as a war reserve. I have not seen any study but I believe the concept of defence through a citizen's army was examined some time ago and was found to be more expensive and less effective. Lastly, there is nuclear capability, which helped NATO to confront the Warsaw Pact with smaller conventional forces. For Pakistan, *prime facie*, there seems to be no alternative to the traditional strategy of maintaining conventional forces, at a numerically adequate level of deterrence.

Once the deterrence ratio is agreed upon as a key factor in defence planning, the overall strength of Pakistan's armed forces must inevitably be determined by that of India. If India chooses, from whatever motive, to expand its forces, Pakistan is compelled to make a corresponding increase to prevent the ratio from falling to unsafe levels.

If the strength of the force is predetermined through external compulsions, what room for manoeuvre is there for budget makers in Pakistan to economise in defence expenditures? It is hinted here and there that there is considerable waste in defence spending, which can be avoided. It is obviously not possible to deal with vague allegations or make judgments on the basis of anecdotal material. International studies based on aggregates and comparisons show that in Pakistan, the expenditure per soldier is not comparatively high. The Military Balance '88-89 gives the per soldier expenditure in Pakistan as \$5 708 against \$7,261 for India. Any expectation of tremendous economies in expenditure, at existing force levels, is clearly unrealistic. There may be scope, however, for more effective use of funds.

How can the burden of defence expenditure on Pakistan be reduced? In the absence of a political settlement of all disputes, the only option is a balanced reduction of forces through negotiation. The sub-continent is overloaded with defence. The combined strength of the defence forces exceeds that of superpower U.S.A. There is no external enemy in sight. There is the most glaring disparity between the economic base and the defence superstructure.

A proposal for a balanced reduction of forces was made by President Ziaul Haq and has been reiterated by the former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto. India has been cold to the proposal. They consider that they have adversaries and challenges apart from Pakistan and that a balanced reduction, in the context of Pakistan alone, is not feasible. Global circumstances have now changed and it may be possible to persuade India to consider negotiations for a balanced force reduction.

A 20-percent reduction, as has been achieved, in terms of expenditures by developing countries, should not be an impossible target to aim at. It would release Rupees 16

billion annually which would be a substantial addition to the development programme.

In the meantime, the government and the Ministry of Defence, must try and respond to demands from the public, politicians and the press more information on defence spending. Firstly, Government should prepare and publish a defence policy paper as is the practice in established democracies. The requirements of secrecy should not be overdone. There is a great deal of information available internationally which is unnecessarily kept concealed from our own people. Secondly, the documents supporting the budget should contain more data and analysis. There are things like the teeth-tail ratio which the public is interested in and which can be discussed in a manner which does not jeopardise national security. Thirdly, the system of appraisal and purchase of weapons needs to be strengthened and reviewed. The public should be aware of the system and the methodology used and should be satisfied that there are adequate checks and balances to ensure that purchases are cost-effective, that options have been considered and that the transactions are above board. The association of non-Defence Ministry experts with review of major technical questions should be considered. The rules and ethics regarding supplier's agents, commissions and lobbying should be codified.

People's Army Advocated To Reduce Defense Expenditures

92AS1101K Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
4 Jun 92 p 7

[Article by Anwar Khan: Pakistan's Defence and Its Cost"]

[Text] Expenditure in next year's budget has exceeded Rupees 82 billion. It is likely to increase further to become 65 to 70 percent of the total revenue budget in the not too distant future. Such increase is inevitable in view of one of our neighbour's bigger resources, their perpetual unfriendliness towards Pakistan and their increasing desire for becoming the dominant power in the region. They see only Pakistan as an obstacle to their historic ambition. In view of the fearful "Islamic bomb" and the lurking danger of the formation of an Islamic union of former Russian and some Middle Eastern Islamic states, a major shift has resulted in U.S. policy in the region. It has resulted in stoppage of military aid to Pakistan and instead commencement of military aid to our neighbour to assist it in becoming the dominant power in the region apparently against a fearful Islamic bloc. Whether this is true or not is a different matter.

The defence policy adopted by Pakistan was based on British teaching and was in fact launched by senior British officials who led the Pakistan Army after partition and were supported by senior Pakistani officers who were the product teaching of the former colonial rulers. Their defence theories were based on the resources of an Empire which provided shiploads of colonial troops to

support its defence. This strategy requires our land forces in Pakistan to almost line up along our eastern border from Balistan to the Raan of Kutch. It leaves a small force as a resource for launching a counter-attack.

Hence there is increasing need for a bigger army which is beyond our national resources. As the neighbours forces get bigger in numbers, in mobility and fire power, including the reported arsenal of over 200 atomic bombs, the need for increase in our defence forces and resources would increase. In the not too distant future (with defence loans included) we are likely to be left with only 30-35 percent of the national budget for national administration. Percentage of literacy is one of the lowest in the world. Perforce we have to forget about national development even while we talk of building major roads largely through foreign assistance, our existing roads (mostly built during British rule) having become a series of potholes.

The answer lies in basing the main defence of the country on the technique which has never been defeated since times immemorial—guerilla warfare. It could be strengthened through use of modern weapons and powerful mobile forces, for counter-attacks with air support at short notice. Many countries have their national defence organised in that manner; Israel is a good example. We need to remember that the greatest empire of the ancient times—the Roman Empire—was defeated through guerilla warfare. In the recent past both the world's super powers have been defeated.

The U.S.S.R was defeated by Afghan guerilla warfare and it eventually resulted in its disintegration. We also saw the great American forces suffer humiliating defeat through guerilla warfare in Vietnam. We must remember that the last American soldier left Vietnam by hanging on to the wheels of a helicopter because the helicopter was packed to capacity with escaping American troops.

Proposed strategy for national defence.

A law on the national level should be passed making it compulsory for every citizen of Pakistan of over 15 years of age (including women) to participate in the defence of the country. They would be given defence responsibilities according to their ability by local defence organisation. Every citizen should undergo one month's military training every year for which they should be paid a small stipend for meals.

For some years military training should be imparted by the Pakistan Army for which a formation should be allocated an area/district/division as necessary. It would be advisable that military training in the rural area, should be imparted after harvest time when farmers are relatively free from agricultural work. The aim of rural military training should be to prepare women and older men to defend the perimeter of the built-up area of the village and younger men be trained to go outside the village and fight and be prepared to lay ambushes for enemy troops in the countryside.

The main approaches to the country may be held by regular troops and hard hitting mobile regular army resources should be available in suitable areas.

The citizen's army should be provided light anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, and be trained in their use and also in the use of mines, etc. Once the civil population is trained, then the regular army may be safely reduced, thus making national defence more effective and far less expensive. There would be no more need to line the border with regular troops.

During normal peace time, apart from the training period, it is recommended that the weapons should be kept in a strong-room under the village chowkidar with his guards. This would reduce the chances of misuse or misappropriation of weapons.

Those responsible for planning and developing the national defence strategy have a most difficult task. They should forget what they learnt from the heroes of the British Empire and the 2nd World War. They must consider the factors that relate to Pakistan's defence, i.e., country's resources, the character (including characteristics and limitations) of Pakistani people (including the effect on them of their history) and compare these with their neighbour's similar factors. They should then study how countries with similar resources successfully faced mightier opponents (as the Romans, Americans and Russians). Our experts will then come to practical and successful conclusions that would best meet Pakistan's requirements. This is not an easy task but is the only way for successful defence of the country. If our experts try to think on the matter without prejudice of past influences, they would come to the same conclusions as in this article.

There would be an added responsibility on the Government and the political parties to develop a national spirit amongst the masses where defence of the country is concerned. This spirit must be developed.

I have studied the manifestos of political parties of Pakistan and regrettably have found only one party to include the concept of People's Army in their programme. Let us hope that the importance to Pakistan of developing a citizens' army apart from the regular defence forces will be realised and be made a national requirement. Only such a move would enable the Government to spare sufficient funds from the national budget for development, education, health and improvement in the scientific field.

Military Said Ready To Purchase 40 F-7 Chinese Planes

92AS1054B Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 May pp 1, 12

[News Report: "China Will Supply 40 F-7 Planes to Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad (special correspondent): According to reliable sources, Air Chief Marshal Faruq Feroz, head of

the air force, has gone to Beijing in order to finalize the purchase of a squadron of F-7 planes. A team of Pakistan Air Force experts is accompanying the chief of air staff. The reliable sources said that China had agreed in principle to supply F-40 planes to Pakistan and these planes would soon be delivered to Pakistan following an agreement between the air chief and Chinese officials regarding the particulars of the sale. The sources also indicated that during his visit to China, Air Chief Marshal Feroz would hold important discussions with Chinese officials regarding the further strengthening of Pakistan's Air Force and that he was carrying with him a list of the materials urgently needed by the Pakistan Air Force.

French Offer of Mirage 2000 Planes Said Refused

92AS1054E Karachi JANG in Urdu 13 May 92 p 8

[News Report: "Pakistan Has Abandoned the Idea of Purchasing Mirage 2000 Planes From France; Experts Objected to the Planes' Performance; Russian SU-27 Fighter Planes Will Be Bought Instead"]

[Text] Islamabad (special correspondent): According to responsible sources, Pakistan has decided not to buy Mirage 2000 planes from France. Experts of the Pakistan Air Force [PAF] made negative remarks in their reports on the performance of the Mirage 2000 fighter planes and regarded the purchase of the planes unsuitable for Pakistan. The PAF report contained several objections to the suggested price of the Mirage 2000 and its performance. Responsible sources said that based on the views of the Pakistan Air Force, a firm decision was made not to purchase Mirage 2000 planes. The government is taking steps to put through its plan for purchasing SU-27 fighter planes from Russia. The sources indicated that Pakistan Air Force experts had reported that the PAF could use to advantage the performance of the SU-27 planes and that by adding these planes to the air force, the vacuum which was created by the obstacles placed by the United States in the agreed upon delivery of F-16 planes would be filled to a certain extent. The sources said that soon a Pakistani delegation would go to Moscow to discuss the purchase of SU-27 planes. The Government of Pakistan has so far received positive signals from Moscow in regard to the supply of SU-27 planes.

Country Said Living Under 'Tyranny of the Mullah'

92AS1015H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
29 May 92 p 6

[Editorial: "A Generation in Dilemma."; italicised words as published]

[Text] What exactly is Islamisation? And are its proponents in a position to reform Pakistani society, thereby presenting solutions to the main problems that beset this nation? Above all, is there a clear and specific direction or an ordained path that we are striving to follow?

These and many other daunting questions are increasingly occupying the thoughts of many. It is becoming apparent that the natural evolution of society as a whole in Pakistan has come to a standstill, if not actually slipping backwards.

On the face of it, life goes on. Democracy, in whatever convoluted form is hesitantly gaining a foothold. Industrialisation and privatisation have become the new trends. The press has been judiciously granted more freedom and Pakistan has won the World Cup.

But deep inside, we remain a confused nation, victims of our own inherent contradictions. Muted and stifled, we prefer to ignore the pressing need for soul searching, afraid that the outcome may shatter the make-believe world we have created for ourselves.

Such issues were addressed by Dr. Javed Iqbal in a thought-provoking lecture in Islamabad recently. It sounded like a voice in the wilderness. It was a wakening call for those who could understand and appreciate its logic and a warning for those who could not.

For the new generation of Pakistan, there is not too much to look back to. The legacies of the previous generations are the ones that haunt our present and our future. These legacies tell a story of political deceit, social decay and oral degeneration. It is said that we are the proud inheritors of a glorious past. True. But that is only part of the picture. Indoctrinating a whole nation with selective narration of history and glorifying each and every aspect of the past has resulted in an aura of artificiality which surrounds the whole process.

Being a member of the Pakistani generation that grew up under the repressive shadow of Ziaul Haq's martial law, it is not hard for me to understand the confusion that is plaguing the present day youth. It is a direct result of the suffocating system that was imposed on us. How can a dynamic and modern religion like Islam impose inhuman and barbaric punishments totally contrary to the welfare and reformist spirit of Islam? How can women who are given such an elevated and respected status by Islam, be made victims of discriminatory laws that reduce them to the level of second class citizens? Why is intellectual growth and personal freedom stifled when Islam lays so much stress on the acquisition of education and knowledge?

We have grown up to see a society in turmoil; a society that abhors self-criticism, self-evaluation and self-correction. We are a generation that knows nothing about the turbulent fifties, the "glorious" sixties and the "modern" seventies. Our history starts from Mohammad bin Qasim and ends at Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Our text books spew lies and distorted facts. For us, the 1971 debacle never happened. Everything from cricket to electing a woman Prime Minister has been termed un-Islamic by one *mullah* or the other.

We are not sure what our culture is. Everything seems to be banned by the *mullah*. Creative arts and healthy entertainment are looked down upon. Religious minorities live under the fear of the *mullah's* sword. The doors of intellectual growth have been slammed shut.

The education system in Pakistan further compounds the situation. First of all, it only caters to an extremely small section of the population. The system itself discourages free thinking. It is completely devoid of innovative methodology which might spur the students to wrack his/her brain. Rather, it awards those who rely on mere memory and reproduce material without understanding anything. On a higher level, analytical thinking is suppressed and any deviation from the rigidly prescribed matter goes against the student.

A product of such a closed education system is ripe for *mullah* exploitation. The student has no incentive to broaden his/her horizon, no desire to explore new fields and toy with diverse ideas and ideologies. He becomes a slave to conformity and yet another victim of the system. This is what is happening to my generation.

How did we come to this pass? And why do we refuse to learn from history?

Dr. Javed Iqbal explained this in the terminology of conventionalism and reformism. It has been the continuous struggle between these two forces that has robbed us of our basic understanding. The overpowering influence of Islam is such that it has been repeatedly used to sway the uneducated masses.

Conventionalists have always posed as the sole defenders of Islam, rejecting modernization and social reform as western conspiracies to undermine Islam. Indigenous development has been suppressed to maintain the *status quo*. They divorced religion from modern scientific knowledge whereas the two complement each other. Such ideas have been drummed so hard into Pakistani mentality that a majority believes in them.

Self-appointed custodians of religion, who have no place in Islam, are controlling the hearts and minds of the whole Pakistani nation. They have robbed us of our intellect, our power of reasoning and our true identity as a modern, democratic forward-looking, welfare state. And we as a nation, have allowed ourselves to be battered and bruised.

Any wonder we are where we are? Having been reduced by the *mullah* to a guilt-ridden society: we are fast losing sight of the real spirit of Islam.

How long can this farce go on? How many more generations are to suffer? How long will Pakistan continue to wallow in economic and social misery under the tyranny of the *mullah*? These are the questions that my generation has to answer in order to avoid the follies of our elders.

Nation Said at Crossroads of National Identity

92AS1102C Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
29 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Article by M. Anis Motiwala: "Crossroads of Identity"]

[Text] After the Second World War, world politics acquired a new direction: a different approach to global problems—a more clever armour to perpetuate the power of those who were powerful or emerging as future powers.

Ostensibly, the freedom and sovereignty of smaller nations was respected and guaranteed. Instead of continuing to use up the war-torn resources in combat, the colonist powers concentrated on liberating their subjects—to be remote controlled. A sudden realisation had dawned that physical occupation was perhaps not necessary to control the resources of the subjugated regions of the world.

Economics had assumed new dimensions and was replacing the arm and armour of the battlefield to fight a more meaningful and effective war. In the post World War era, economics emerged as the most powerful combative arsenal; more powerful than the bomb that was used. The big powers had learned that possessing the goods and resources of their subjects was more cumbersome than controlling the markets where they would sell their goods or procure their arms, ammunition and raw materials. To assist in the control of the markets, international aids, grants and loans became the frontline army.

The big powers devised international bodies and agencies. All of these put together today dictate, no matter how subtly or imperceptibly, the political, economic and social spheres of the lives of the people of the Third World. Where they are not yet already in control and calling the shot, they are fast closing in on their targets. Imperialism has thus been transformed into an intellectual imperialism.

Through arduous planning and effort of the same powers, a stage has been reached where fear of war has replaced war for generating all the deadly and perniciously retrogressive consequences of an actual war. Today, you deplete your resources on a continuous basis in preparation for a war which may or may not be fought because your opponent is as vulnerable as you. He is a victim of similar plots hatched by common enemies.

Today, you suffer worse than you would if you actually fought a war. That would have a rather healthy economic effect as compared to the present state of affairs where the cost of war has become a perpetual drain on your resources. Today, you are at war every minute of your life with no sign of its intensity abating.

Wars are always won by capitalising on one's comparative advantages. The erstwhile imperialist powers and their new partners have sought out the most important element of warfare and consolidated on that: information. They have the whole world under their eyes. Their intelligence probes with watchful eyes into factories, offices and bedrooms. And then they use this intelligence to their advantage and to the other party's detriment. The strong and weak are marked out. The strong ones are either sidetracked, enervated or just simply eliminated. The weak ones are reinforced through planned, strategic moves. With time there are stooges all over the place. This is imperialism at its worst.

The most recent and dramatic change occurred due to the disintegration of Soviet Union. The world power as of today stands unipolar. The balance has drastically tilted in favour of one with the abdication of the other. Therefore, it's time to pick up the next most important item on the agenda—to smoothen the pestering wrinkle of a potential future threat.

There are clear signals that all the machinery available at the disposal of a solitary superpower is now geared to aim at the ideology that has the greatest latent power in mankind's history. Muslims may be slumbering but Islam is wide awake. The smouldering torch of the faith of Muslim masses can be rekindled with one adverse slip of tongue against the faith from any one of the powers; such is the volatility of the Muslim even at the lowest rung of faith's ladder. And this is what needs to be squashed flat once and for all, if the hegemony of the powers that be is meant to be perpetuated without threats.

Iran loomed large with its military might and Islamic spirit (I shall not use the term 'fundamentalism' which has a connotation that doesn't aptly apply to the Islamist movement anywhere).

Iraq was instigated and supported to drain the vitals out of a defiant and conceited Iran. In so doing, the insane Saddam acquired a military might that could ingest in one gulp the superpower's interest in the region. As a premeditated part of the plan, a grand show of Muslim massacre was staged in the deserts to puncture Iraq's inflated might and to cast a durable sense of desperate helplessness upon the Muslim masses all over.

After humbling Iran and Iraq, the only top order Muslim country that could remain on the wickets for some time is fortunately or unfortunately ours. Pakistan today has the largest world-class Muslim military; it also has Abdul Qadeer Khan and his achievements; and last but not least, a population of over 100 million, of, to borrow

their words, fanatic Muslim. Pakistan, therefore, is an impediment in the way of imperialist powers.

A non-existent Pakistan would seem to be their choice; if not, a weaker Pakistan at least would be desired.

A strong Pakistan has always been an eyesore to imperialist powers. It is now an open secret of how the two super-adversaries of the Cold War period connived hand in glove to make two countries out of one in 1971. Earlier on they had fanned events to lead to an impasse. Even today, we have every right to believe that invisible hands are lurking in the Punjab Sindh, Balochistan and Sarhad.

Against this backdrop of international intrigues, conspiracies and power struggles is silhouetted our national character—pitch dark and gloomy.

Way back in 1947, we made the country more as a reaction to gain an identity instead of for the sake of creation and sustenance of an identity. Or so it seems now. With Independence came an end to our pursuit of goals as if we had achieved the end (whereas in reality it should have marked the beginning of a national mission).

Most of the intellectuals then were those who had been trained by institutions in the West, and harboured a clear sense of superiority over the common man—the lay freedom fighter of Pakistan. These same people also constituted the heart of an infant Pakistan's infantile bureaucracy.

With the exception of a few, they were stiff-necked and identified themselves more with the English than with Pakistan or its people. During the same period, British and American embassies, specially the American, became active and began grafting saplings of their influence in and around the corridors of power; and soon began to wield considerable authority in state matters.

The early generation of politicians consisted of some of the most patriotic people who had vision as well as acumen. Among these, Quaid-e-Millat was assassinated and those who remained were soon rendered weary immobile and inarticulate by the intrigues of a strange trio that had been taking shape surreptitiously—that of the bureaucracy, army and the newly-entered feudal clique. From then onwards, the booties of power were shared among the trio while bureaucracy retained and perpetuated its nucleus role in dispensing and using it.

The harshest blow was inflicted on Pakistan in this manner as a consequence of which to this day the rulers and the ruled continue to move in parallel lines, with one completely alienated from the other.

Many other consequences followed this state of affairs. Virtually all activity at the state level was robbed of objectivity and solemn commitment to the nation. Gradually, the rulers' lackadaisical attitude descended upon the masses setting off the long process of moral degeneration and decay of national identity. It was this state of

living in a vacuum and isolation from the affairs of the country that has resulted in a national apathy among the people.

As things stand today, after 44 years, we are faced with the breakdown of virtually every facet of our social, political and economic life. It is amply visible that people at large—leaving aside a small minority who enjoy all privileges and live off the fat of the land—are disinterested and weary of any subject that calls on their collective sense of duty and responsibility. Apathy has completely taken over.

All vital functions in the social realm like education, justice, administration, have succumbed to the unrelenting rather snowballing menace of corruption, nepotism and atrociously narrowly defined commercialism.

Public life has acquired a smugly reconciled posture of hypocrisy and double standards. Take an example. An oath commissioner—the most economically deprived law graduate—sells his witness for a mere ten/twenty rupees by putting his signatures on an unsigned document filed by some non-existent person; the court, using it to dispense justice, knows this and the parties seeking justice know that the court knows it. Yet the system goes on.

In the field of education, we have finally run out of teachers. Those severely lacking in character themselves are today responsible for building characters of the future nation. Inside homes, a hardened crust of guiltless hypocrisy has settled around our moral values and beliefs. The very same people who would prefer to club the life out of their daughters rather than allow them to perform on public stage are found rising to their feet with full and total conviction, along with their wives and daughters, in ovation to Madam Nur Jehan. The same people constitute the audience of Neelam Ghar.

As it is, we have been moving rapidly towards the abysmal pit of socio-cultural degeneration. If that were not enough, more recently we have added acute sectarianism under the euphemistic garb of legitimate regional and ethnic privileges to our list. And so, today we stand divided to the core, as a people, as a nation.

This is the state of affairs. It is difficult to euphemise truth and say things as if not all has gone wrong, there is still hope, things are not that bad. To me the state of affairs is a foreboding of an irreversible disaster. External threats are looming large for the near future. Apparent superpower designs are only too obvious. Covertly, international conspiracies are working against the very existence of Pakistan. And the nation itself is working against the existence of Pakistan, knowingly or unknowingly.

The fundamental and root cause of this state of affairs is the nation never had a sense of identity. Not today, not forty-four years ago.

The Pakistan Movement was constructed on the premises of a Muslim nation. It could have been a viable foundation for Pakistan as a country. But tragically, for the Muslims of India, it served as a misnomer rather than a nation-building central idea, for the simple reason that the state of Islam in the general population of Muslims in India was not strong enough for it to act as a binding agent.

Islam existed as a mere spiritual force and a means and focus of prayers. It existed as a reality only to be revived at extreme moments of survival or identity crisis usually in battles and wars; it existed nowhere in everyday dealings of life as a practical, pragmatic and comprehensive ideology to guide the nation in establishing a unique order of life for itself. It did not prevail in the society as a system of life, rather it was relegated to a contracted status to play the role of just another religion.

For the past several centuries, Muslim masses have been distanced from education and knowledge; that included Islam among all the faculties. Consequently, the illiterate Muslim masses 44 years ago (and today) remained as ignorant about the true teachings and spirit of Islam as they are about any other subject. Despite this state of affairs, the people of Pakistan could have found an identity based on Islam had there been a firm commitment to and clarity of purpose before the powers that be from the beginning.

Unfortunately, seeds of discontent and self-contradiction were sown deep inside the minds of the common people during the formative stages by the fact that the literate class which was also the class that led the Freedom Movement to its success envisaged a secular, modern democratic state—an aim which remains ambiguous to the people at large to this day. The leaders had firm belief in the oneness of multi-ethnic masses because they shared the same religion; and they could have been valid in their belief if, as mentioned earlier, the masses were knowledgeable about Islam and its spirit, and could prevail upon the state to construct a system in conformity with their desires.

On the contrary, the masses looked towards the bureaucracy and the leadership to impose Islam over it—bureaucracy, which subscribed to Western thought and except for the slogan of Islamic brotherhood and nationality, stood secular in every aspect of its thinking and approach. The masses on their part persistently savoured the dream of an Islamic state built on the model of Khilafat-e-Rashida of the early days while the bureaucracy regarded secular facts as a sine qua non of statecraft.

This contradiction of beliefs has continued to make the gulf wider between rulers and the ruled, finally surfacing as conspicuously pronounced discontent because the illiterate lot can neither refute the spate of modernism and progress nor can it easily renounce its deep rooted belief in the dogma of Islam. As for continuing with

Islam hand in hand with the march into the modern era, the illiterate masses have sufficient knowledge of neither of them.

It is not to be construed that with literacy can be achieved uniformity in national belief. On the contrary, with education and enlightenment, a certain degree of polarisation is bound to take place wherein one section will emerge as consciously subscribing to modern democracy and its affiliated principles while another comes up as an enlightened Islamist force with a staunch commitment to the resurgence of traditional values of Islam, rather than yielding to the pressures of the progressive West. This phenomenon is being observed among the Muslim masses in the global context; and the Muslims of Pakistan cannot be regarded in isolation.

The lasting, a longterm solution therefore lies in bridging the gulf between the rulers and the ruled and emerging with a loudly pronounced, crystal-clear set of objectives which are shared wholeheartedly by the rulers as well as the ruled. Working at cross purposes must come to an end.

Also, economic disparities must be removed through equitable resource allocations for the attainment of which maximum provincial autonomy seems to be the best course of action; decentralisation of the centre and transfer of power at the grassroots level can reduce the trend towards retrogression and decadence. In the prevailing global scene, it seems imperative that the centre's energies are focused on the foreign policy, defence and skeleton longterm economic planning leaving details, policymaking and administration to the discretion of the provinces.

A very strong centre has proved harmful for Pakistan in the past and there are clear signs that it will do the same now if drastic dilution of power is not inducted at the centre. The geo-political entity of Pakistan is important for the people of Pakistan; and is more important for the Muslim world at large. Let's try our best to keep this country in one piece.

Christians Said Protesting Trials Under Islamic Laws

92AS1102E Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 92 p 4

[Article: "Christians To Observe Black Day on June 5"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi, May 27: Pakistan Christian Congress [PCC] chief Nazir S. Bhatti said the Christian community would observe 'Black Day' on June 5 in protest against the trial of his community members under Islamic Laws and 'sell out' of their representatives in the provincial Assembly.

In a Press statement issued on Wednesday, the PCC chief alleged that MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] Michael Javed and Saleem Khokhar had been

running liquor shops, adding that they had also encroached the land meant for a welfare centre of the Catholic Church.

He said that the 'Black Day' would be observed as the 'Essa Nagri Martyrs Day.' He alleged that in the last couple of years Essa Nagri had become the biggest narcotic den in the city and peddlers enjoyed protection of an MPA.

Nazir Bhatti said that the Christian representatives in the Provincial Assembly had failed to deliver the goods as their (Christians) grievances and demands always remained unheeded.

He appealed to all Christian brethren to join hands in the strike to press for their 'just' demands.

Education Said Neglected, Deplorable

92AS10151 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
29 May 92 p 8

[Article by Aamir Qureshi: "Our Educational Institutions"]

[Text] The attention paid to education in our country is deplorable. Hence we are backward as compared to many other countries. Why is this so?

In Sindh for example, cheating is widespread in the educational institutions, even from Class 1 onwards. Teachers actually encourage students to cheat, and if there are some who do not want to, the teachers put pressure on them to cheat by asking them why are you not doing it, you are going to fail and so on. Students don't come to the institutions without pistols and revolvers. In the universities, there is no more studies left—only terror and terror. Students actually feel proud taking their pistols and revolvers and other arms to the institutions. Students have full control over the teachers and the teachers do whatever the students want. Whatever they say and whatever they want to do, e.g. to rape a girl or beat a boy, they go for it because they know they will get off scot free due to the influence of their elders who are waderas.

There is not protection for female students. Students refuse to take their examinations as scheduled, and after some time, when they feel like, they will talk with the authorities and fix another date for the examinations. They go on strike, burn buses, etc., as and when they like. If such be our institutions, what is the standard of our education? More important, what is our government doing about it?

Education Allotment in Sindh Increases

92AS1101D Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 92 p 1

[Article by I.H. Burney: "Education Gets Biggest Slice"]

[Text] Karachi, May 27—Sindh will have an Annual Development Programme [ADP] of Rupees 5 billion for

1992-95 out of which almost one-third (Rupees 1,608 million) would come from the revenue surplus of the province.

Compared to the Rupees 4,445 million ADP last year, it represents an increase of 12.5 per cent but is less than Rupees 5,878.425 million of the 1991-92 Revised Estimates.

The proposed ADP for 1992-93 is besides the programmes to be financed under the Karachi Special Development Programme [KSDP], the three-year Social Action Programme being launched in 1992-93, and the Tameer-i-Sindh Programme.

The Federal Government has separately pledged Rupees 10 billion for the Tameer-i-Sindh Programme while major schemes being undertaken under the KSDP pertain to water supply and sewerage disposal in Karachi.

According to the budget documents, next year's ADP proposes the biggest allocation (Rupees 960 million) for Education and Training, followed by Rupees 880 million for Rural Development and Rupees 802 million for Physical Planning and Housing.

In fact, more than half of the ADP allocation is for the social sectors as it was the intention of the government to improve the quality of life of the people, particularly in the rural areas.

Presenting the provincial budget before the Sindh Assembly, Finance Minister, Mr Liaquat Ali Jatoi, said that the Federal Government's cash development loan next year would be Rupees 3,020.426 million; transfer from revenue surplus Rupees 1,608.5 million, and the residuary amount of Rupees 371.074 will be met by affecting economy cuts and savings in nondevelopment expenditure.

To ensure larger capital outlay, he said, the government would strictly observe three policy principles viz:

- (a) restricted extra budgetary sanctions,
- (b) provincial Ways and Means position shall be the primary parameter in determination of releases for schemes of both current and development nature, and
- (c) phasing of the current expenditure of the departments in order to spread the expenditure throughout the year.

According to the budget documents, ongoing schemes will consume the bulk of the ADP allocation while just about 10 per cent of the total would be for the new schemes included for 1992-93.

To be exact, there is a provision of Rupees 4,495.5 million for the ongoing schemes but just Rupees 504.6 million for the new schemes.

In Agriculture, ongoing schemes account for Rupees 215 million and new schemes Rupees nine million. The position in the other sector is as under:

Forest and Wildlife: Rupees 62.5 million (ongoing); Rupees 1.5 million (new);

Industries: Rupees 47 million (ongoing); Rupees five million (new);

Water and Power: Rupees 645 million (ongoing); Rupees 15 million (new);

Physical Planning and Housing: 735.3 million (ongoing); Rupees 66.7 million (new);

Transport and Communication: Rupees 518 million (ongoing); Rupees 64 million (new);

Rural Development: Rupees 828 million (ongoing); Rupees 52 million (new);

Education and Training: Rupees 797 million (ongoing); Rupees 163 million (new);

Health: Rupees 544.6 million (ongoing); Rupees 35.4 million (new);

Culture and Tourism: Rupees 14 million (ongoing); Rupees 16 million (new);

Manpower and Employment: Rupees 17 million (ongoing); Rupees 1 million (new);

Social Welfare: Rupees 10 million (ongoing); Rupees 1 million (new);

Statistical and Economic Research Rupees nine million (ongoing); Rupees 14 million (new).

The ADP has a big provision of Rupees 114 million under the head "Block Allocations."

The Block Allocation at the discretion of the Chief Minister is Rupees 51 million and for "Unforeseen Important Projects" Rupees 10 million. In addition, Rupees 33 million has been provided for "Self-Employment Entrepreneurs." The allocation for the Education and Health Foundations is Rupees 20 million.

The budget document lacks details about the progress of the old schemes. It does not state how many of these were completed during the year, nor does it give the progress of those which were taken up during 1991-92.

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DATE FILMED

20 July 1992